

# THE NONCONFORMIST.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XI.—NEW SERIES, No. 282.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1851.

PRICE 6d.

RE-OPENING OF BEDFORD CHAPEL, CHARRINGTON-STREET, NEAR SOMERS TOWN.

THIS PLACE OF WORSHIP, which has been built by the LONDON CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL BUILDING SOCIETY, will be OPENED on WEDNESDAY, April 23rd.

Further particulars next week.

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9, Gresham-street West, WILLIAM WARNE, April 2, 1851.

Hon. Sec.

In-patients (in Hospital) April 2 ..... 36

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New cases during the week ..... 93

Received from commencement ..... 1671

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I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

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I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant

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I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

J. GIBBS.

Garlick-hill, Upper Thames-street.

Commercial-road, Oct. 4th

# THE Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XI.—NEW SERIES, NO. 282.]

LONDON : WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1851.

[PRICE 6d.]

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stitution. Here is the Queen, the supreme head of the Church, anxious to effect its clearance from certain semi-Papal tendencies and practices. Here are her Majesty's Government professedly desirous of the same purgation. Here are both the archbishops, and twenty-two out of twenty-six bishops, sharing and giving utterance to the same laity. Here are no less than 320,000 of the laity of the Church of England subscribing a memorial to the Crown directly to the same effect. And it is now notorious that even this document does but feebly represent the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of Churchmen in the land. And yet nothing can be done authoritatively. The Prime Minister deprecates Parliamentary interference with a Parliamentary Church. All action takes a supplicatory form. The boldest Church reformers tremble to insist on more. The hierarchy pointedly condemn anything likely to prove more efficient. All look on the plague-spot with assumed or real trepidation. All are trying to charm it away by means of episcopal incantations. Nobody seriously believes that it will disappear under such an exorcising process. And yet all are aghast at resorting to the only remedy recommended by common-sense. Now, why is this? Why, we ask, this marvellous tenderness? Surely, it is not believed that the constitution of this scriptural and apostolical Church is so fundamentally diseased that a pin-scratch will produce festering, and festering may be followed by mortification. This, indeed, is the secret of all this delicacy of treatment. It is well known, to change the figure, that the Church of England is one of the most artificial of all conventionalisms, and that, like a house of cards, the slightest legislative disturbance of its repose would be sure to bring it to the ground in ruins. Lord John Russell is right. The Establishment would not long survive a disruption.

So much for a general and *prima facie* view of the condition of the Church of England, as illustrated by recent proceedings. If we look at it somewhat more in detail, its features can hardly be thought to assume a more flattering appearance. Three hundred and forty thousand men of intelligence, representing, it may be, as many as ten times that number, petitioning the Queen to shield them from having vain ceremonies obtruded on them, in their public worship of Almighty God, certainly shows the laity of the Church to be in any but an enviable or dignified position. In a matter touching their most solemn interests, they are as helpless as children. Their religious tastes and sensibilities are shocked, and all they can do is to go and tell the Crown. They are wounded in the most vital part of their nature, and, in nine cases out of ten, by raw, juvenile, and upstart ecclesiastics, and they can only cry out in a tone of entreaty, that some power may protect them from a constant repetition of the offence. They writhe in secret anguish. They are troubled with indescribable fears. They look with alarm to the future. But they are utterly impotent. Independence they have none. Sense of self-respect seems to have forsaken them. They whine out their complaints as if they had never known what manhood means, much less spiritual manhood. It is plain that something cowes them. What is it? Merely a conventionalism. They are members of the National Church—they dread lest it should cease to be such. Not that they individually would suffer—not that Christianity, in any high sense, would suffer—but that an assertion of their own freedom would dispel for ever an ecclesiastical charm, and cast down an idol which their worldly pride, as well as their religious feelings, has invested with a garb of peculiar sanctity.

Then, again, look at the position of her Majesty the Queen. We have no intention of making a single observation which may be justly interpreted as personally disrespectful. But surely posterity will look back with amazement on the fact that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a lady still young is, on the one hand, humbly solicited by hundreds of thousands of her subjects, and, on the other hand, delivers her royal commands to the rulers of the Church, in relation to certain modes of celebrating divine worship. Why, everybody

must perceive that there is in all this far more of fiction than of fact—and that the fiction is carefully preserved, lest something worse might ensue on its abandonment. To us, this alarm on the part of the large body of the Church, this application to the throne, this royal message to the bishops, this Parliamentary discussion, and this warning of the Prime Minister, are strange evidences of the scriptural and apostolical pretensions of the Establishment—poor symptoms of her boasted vigour and vitality. To us they are rather intimations of a very delicate and precarious condition maintaining appearances with the greatest difficulty, and at frightful sacrifices on all hands. Everything is so alien to the spirit of the age, in all other respects so manifestly artificial and conventional as to prove to us, in relation to the Establishment, that "her constitution's gone."

## UNANTICIPATED DANGERS.

THE question of State-education is once more exciting attention both in England and in Ireland. In both countries events are occurring which show the practical difficulties that beset the subject, and prove how liable the most seemingly impartial and comprehensive scheme of national education is to be thwarted by external causes. In a recent debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Osborne forcibly contrasted the course pursued by the Roman Catholic and Protestant clergy of Ireland. The latter were far more bitter and determined in their opposition to the "National" system, than were the former to the "godless colleges." It would appear, however, from evidence which is daily accumulating, that, since the anti-Papal agitation, the Catholic clergy have, to a considerable extent, assumed a hostile position to the mixed system at present in operation. In not a few schools, the children of parents of that persuasion have mysteriously fallen off from their attendance at school. This new plan of displaying disaffection to the Government is increasing with alarming rapidity. The Romish clergy have, to a great extent, succeeded in undermining the New Colleges—cannot they also break up the National system of education, by the use of an influence over which the State has no control? We can easily imagine that Lord John Russell and his supporters would regard the passing of his Ecclesiastical Titles Bill as somewhat dearly purchased by such a result. Further, it seems that the specious scheme of Mr. Richardson, of Manchester, so ably exposed in the *Eclectic Review* for the present month, has already broken down. The Catholics of that district, a numerous and influential body, have already declared that they cannot unite in its support.

These are matters for serious consideration in connexion with the discussions which are shortly likely to arise on Mr. Fox's bill for establishing secular education. It is easy enough to devise an apparently equitable scheme of national education; but, granting that it is right and desirable, what guarantee have we for its stability, and that it will not be affected, and perhaps perverted to evil, by the current of events? Here is a system in Ireland, much extolled by Conservative as well as Whig statesmen, which may, at any time, be made practically inoperative by the combination of the Catholic clergy. It may be a lamentable fact that the population of the sister island are so much under priestly influence, but deplored the result will not alter it. Hitherto, the Romish priests have, for the most part, helped to carry out the National system. They are now hesitating, and the passing of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill may decide them to adopt a course of quiet but not the less effectual opposition to it. It would be a singular result of the anti-Papal excitement, but one which inevitably arises from the practice of our statesmen of legislating according to circumstances, without regard to fixed principles. One expedient counteracts another, and we should not be surprised to find the anti-Papal bill, amongst its other results, blow up the National educational system in Ireland—a measure for restraining priestly assumptions fan into a blaze the expiring embers of sectarian strife and religious animosity.

## ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

### HER CONSTITUTION'S GONE.

USE, we all know, is second nature. Persons there have been who have been throughout life so familiar with contempt, that they have been brought to confess to a relish for being despised. To some such law, we imagine, must be referred the happy unconsciousness of "the Church of England as by law established" to her own humiliation. Whilst she takes pride in the belief that she is a true scriptural and apostolical branch of the Church of Christ, the customary language of her rulers and people, of her clerisy and laics, of her conservatives and reformers, is curiously and suggestively tremulous and plaintive. She moans in her afflictions in tones which excite the deepest commiseration. She avows wishes which she cannot realize. She expresses fears which she cannot allay. She bewails disorders which she cannot rectify. She occupies a position from all the legitimate consequences of which she shrinks with sensitive aversion. Constitutionally weak as she is, however, and preyed upon by internal complaints, she meets every expressed suspicion about her stability and essential vigour just as a consumptive patient answers inquiries respecting health—she is always "getting better."

Now we don't understand this, except on the above-mentioned principle, that use is everything. To us who quietly look on from without, there are indications plain enough that something really serious is the matter. What have we seen within the last few years? We have seen the origination and rapid expansion of a clerical school, whose principles and practices are viewed by the great bulk of the members of the said Church with distaste, suspicion, and alarm. We have seen such principles and practices treated by the entire hierarchy with indulgence, by some of them with direct encouragement. We have seen an outburst of indignation against them, accidentally occasioned it is true, but strong enough in volume and tone, one would have supposed, to suppress the matters complained of with a high hand. We have seen a humble memorial to the Queen, expressive of this all but unanimous feeling on the part of lay members of the Church of England, and praying that certain usages in practice might be discontinued. We have seen that memorial referred by her Majesty to the archbishops and bishops, accompanied by an expression of her Majesty's wish to discourage "any innovation not in conformity with the law." We have seen a dolorous address from most of the hierarchy, beseeching, for pity's sake, and for the sake of peace, a discontinuance of novelties offensive to the sounder tastes of the laity of the Church. And, lastly, we have seen the question brought incidentally under notice in the House of Commons, where it was touched most gingerly, and where the Premier declared that nothing would induce him to take any step that would tend to any disruption here such as occurred some years ago in the Established Church of Scotland.

Just look at this picture of Church government as an illustration of what the Church herself is perpetually boasting of, her radically sound con-

## THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH MOVEMENT.

### "THE LIBRARY FOR THE TIMES."

It will be seen from an announcement in our advertising columns that the Executive Committee of the Anti-state-church Association have so far matured their literary plans as to be prepared to issue the first work next month, and to announce several which will immediately follow. They have been encouraged to do this by the response already given to their appeal, and in faith that the sum still required to enable them fully to carry out their intentions will be forthcoming. They are, we believe, prepared to work with characteristic energy to ensure the success of the project, but the measure of that success must greatly depend on the capital placed at their disposal. We trust, therefore, that those friends of the society who have delayed contributing or collecting from a desire to have further information as to the character of the works to be published, or who have supposed that their pecuniary help would not be needed, will promptly come forward and enable the Committee, at the approaching annual meeting, to announce the full realization of their wishes.

They are, we understand, wisely endeavouring to enlist the sympathies of Dissenting Sunday-school teachers, holding out to them inducements to promote an extensive sale of the works composing the "Library for the Times." The following is extracted from the circular addressed to superintendents and secretaries of schools:

By the great body of SUNDAY-SCHOOL TEACHERS in connexion with Nonconformist Churches, such an enterprise should, in the judgment of the Committee, be regarded with special interest, and their efforts to promote its success should be proportionately great. Hundreds of thousands of our youth are placed under their training, and receive from them, in many cases, the only religious knowledge they acquire. Surely such teachers ought to be able to give solid and scriptural reasons for instructing so many of the rising generation in Dissenting schools rather than in those connected with the Establishment, which denounces Dissenters as schismatics, and Dissent as a sin. They wish those whom they teach to become intelligent and patriotic citizens, as well as devout Christians, and look forward to many of them becoming members of churches, and some of them instructors of others, as teachers, ministers, or missionaries. How important, then, that at the commencement of their career, they should be made acquainted with the merits of questions which will sooner or later engage their attention—should learn the value of principles so closely affecting the welfare of their country and the progress of true religion—should be strengthened to resist all temptations to substitute political religionism and State formalism for genuine and simple piety—and should be animated by a desire to promote, to the extent of their ability, the advancement of truth and liberty.

The Committee indulge the hope that, influenced by such views as these, you will be ready to extend the sale of the works announced, by inducing the teachers and elder scholars of the school with which you are connected to become purchasers. Some of them, by being published in monthly shilling parts, will be placed within the reach of those who cannot possess themselves of larger volumes, and others will be written expressly to attract and interest the young. A copy of each work will also, it is hoped, find a place in every Sunday-school library. As an inducement to parties willing to canvass for subscribers, for every six copies of any work, or part of a work, ordered, a copy will be presented gratis.

**SWANSEA.**—The Anti-state-church deputation (the Rev. J. Clapp and Mr. J. Kingsley) visited this town on Monday, the 31st of March, when a public meeting was held in Castle-street Chapel, the minister of which, the Rev. W. Jones, occupied the chair. There was a good attendance; the speeches were listened to not only with attention, but the speakers were frequently interrupted by applause. E. Davies, Esq., moved the first resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Clapp, who forcibly pointed out the evils that must necessarily arise from the union of Church and State, and referred to an incident occurring in his own immediate district, where a lunatic was appointed by his father incumbent of his parish, and succeeded in holding the appointment to his death. The Rev. D. Evans, Baptist minister, moved the adoption of a petition to Parliament, to be presented by the newly-elected county member. This was seconded by Mr. Kingsley, who for an hour entirely held the meeting by his forcible appeals, humorous details and descriptions, and his generally eloquent manner. A vote of thanks to the deputation and chairman, proposed by the Rev. E. Jacob, Independent, seconded by the Rev. J. Jones, Baptist minister, closed the proceedings.

**SOUTH WALES TOUR.**—We have received no reports of the meetings held at Carmarthen and Cardigan last week. Meetings are fixed for this week at Milford Haven, Haverfordwest, Pembroke Dock, and Llanelli; and next week Mr. Kingsley is to visit Chepstow and Cilfford.

**HUDDERSFIELD.**—A numerous committee, comprising members of various religious denominations, has been appointed to act in Huddersfield and the vicinity. The new committee has commenced its operations by employing the services of Henry Vincent, Esq., in the delivery of two lectures on Civil and Religious Liberty. These lectures were delivered in the Philosophical Hall, Huddersfield, on Monday, the 31st of March, and Tuesday, the 1st of April, under the presidency of the Rev. J. Stock, and Wright Mellor, Esq. The hall was well filled on the first evening, and on the second crowded. The impassioned effusions of the eloquent lecturer were listened to on both evenings with enthusiastic interest throughout. It is hoped that something will now be done to rouse the Nonconformists of Huddersfield to more decided action in the cause of separation in Church and State.

**FUTURE MEETINGS.**—Several other meetings are arranged for or projected before the termination of the Society's operations for the present season. This evening a soirée is to be held at Dalston. Mr. Miall

is to attend meetings at Reading on the 16th, Chelmsford on the 23rd, and Chatham on the 30th inst. Mr. Kingsley is to hold meetings at Cirencester and Fairford next week, and in the week following at Stroud, Nailsworth, Gloucester, and Cheltenham, in company with the Rev. J. A. Baynes, of Nottingham. The Rev. W. Forster will be at Loughborough, York, and Rotherham, on the 29th and 30th inst., and May the 1st. Meetings at Brighton, Lewes, and several towns in Devonshire, are also proposed.

**MILE-END.**—The second of a course of lectures on the evils incident to the union of Church and State was delivered on Wednesday evening last, at the Latimer School-rooms, by Mr. J. Carvell Williams. The subject was, "The union injurious to the Church itself." Very appropriately, the testimony of churchmen alone was brought to confirm and illustrate the statements made as to the evils inflicted on their own church by its union with the civil power. Of materials for this purpose there seemed no lack, and the positions assumed by the lecturer were fully sustained. Probably, however, but few of the parties most interested in the matter were present. To get at Churchmen, and point out to them "a more excellent way," it will be needful to take these expositions to their doors, as was done by the Anti-Corn-law League. In the meantime, until funds are provided for such a purpose, it would be well for subscribers to the Association to remember that they may receive back half the amount of their subscriptions (of 10s., and upwards) in tracts for distribution. A freer circulation of information would certainly be followed by corresponding results. The third and concluding lecture will be delivered this evening.—*From a Correspondent,*

**BETHNAL GREEN.**—The course of lectures on the union of Church and State, just delivered at the Latimer school-rooms, are about to be repeated at the schools connected with the Rev. J. Viney's new chapel, in Bethnal-green-road, the Rev. J. C. Davis giving the third lecture instead of Mr. Bayley. The Rev. W. Forster delivers the first next Tuesday evening.

### WESLEYAN REFORM.

#### PECUNIARY ASPECT OF THE QUESTION.

The controversy between the preachers and the people continues with unabated vigour. If the people grumble and refuse to pay, the result is immediate excision from the body. Great numbers of trustees demand to be released from their responsibilities, in consequence of the threatening aspect of affairs, and the expelled trustees are the loudest in their requests. The *Patriot*, in remarking upon this aspect of the subject, says:

With this demand, the ruling party would probably comply with alacrity, if they could; but, although it might not be difficult to find a dozen Methodists who would put their shoulders to any burden to please a "preacher," yet, when hundreds of burden-bearers are wanted at the same moment, plentiful as silly people may be, it is found impossible to procure them. And, indeed, it is sufficient to make the most trustful cautious, when they hear that the Commissioners of Bankruptcy refuse certificates to bankrupts whose schedules contain proof that they have, as Methodist trustees, rendered themselves liable for amounts which they had no means in the world, if called upon, of paying. It is calculated, we observe, by those who are more familiar with these matters than we can pretend to be, that not fewer than a thousand Methodist trustees are at this moment, in various ways, seeking emancipation from their trust liabilities. Where the tenor of the deed allows of it, notice of sale will probably be given; but, in the majority of deeds, we understand, the trustees have no power of sale without leave of the Chancery, which meets but once a year. In what light the Court of Chancery will regard the question, remains to be seen. Some applications are, at this moment, before the Courts of Equity, and will, probably, be soon followed by many more. The Judges in Chancery will, we presume, take a favourable view of the embarrassments of trustees who have, by the overbearing conduct of the ministers for whose benefit they became liable, been, at the same time, expelled from the church and deprived of the means of paying interest to the Connexional creditors. But if the stringency of legal instruments will not permit relief to be afforded by those who sit to administer the law, Parliament is not limited in its powers of interference; and it is very possible that we shall hear of something like a supplement to the Dissenters' Chapels Act.

An example of this is seen in one of the metropolitan circuits (Hinde-street), which is now under the superintendency of the renowned Dr. Beaumont. This gentleman has been careful to avoid being compromised in the reckless proceedings of the so-called "Clique," as well as to eschew any overt act, susceptible of being construed as a fraternization with the remonstrant people. He was ordered by a District Meeting to put Mr. Grosjean on his trial, and he obeyed. A second time Mr. Grosjean was tried and acquitted, and because Dr. Beaumont did not appeal to a Minor District Meeting, to upset the verdict of the Leaders, he was accused by his colleagues of neglecting his duty. The consequence was, that a Special District Meeting was called, at which four long days were occupied in discussing the affairs of Hinde-street Circuit; the result being, that the charges against Dr. Beaumont were left hanging over his head till the regular District Meeting, to be held in May, preparatory to the Conference, and that three office-bearers, two of whom are also trustees—one being the twice-acquitted person—were declared to have forfeited their places in the church, and every minister of the body pronouncing judgment was prohibited from giving any one of the three a ticket, as he should answer for it to the District Meeting and the Conference. It now, therefore, remained to be seen, whether Dr. Beaumont would carry out the decree of his brethren. The circumstances in which he was called upon to do it were made doubly difficult and trying by the fact, that, in anticipation of the Special District Meeting, the official staff of the Circuit met,

and, to the number of eighty-six, adopted and signed a formal protest, denying the right of the District Meeting to interfere in any way in the affairs of the Circuit; contending for the laws of 1797, as being the fundamental laws of the Connexion, alterable only in virtue of a compact between preachers and people corresponding to that by which they were agreed upon; and declaring such acts and proceedings of the contemplated meeting as should be intended to refer to their circuit, to be absolutely null and void. Dr. Beaumont, however, has communicated to the parties the verdict of the Special District Meeting, and has, by this course, grievously disappointed the long-cherished hopes of the Wesleyan Reformers.

**PRIZE ESSAYS.**—During the last year, John Kaye, Esq., of Dalton Hall, near Huddersfield, offered two prizes of £50 and £25 respectively, for two essays on the "Local or Lay Ministry, as exercised among the people called Methodists." The adjudicators have just awarded the first prize to Mr. Mills, of Colton Hall Academy, Staffordshire, and the second to Mr. Carr, of Leeds. We understand that a large number of essays were sent in, many of which possessed considerable merit. Both the prize essays are to be published forthwith.

**RELIGIOUS HOUSES.**—The following are the principal passages of a petition presented to the House of Commons by the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, from the Hon. Mr. Langdale:

That your petitioner has two daughters, inmates of religious houses; one of whom entered such religious community at the age of twenty-seven, and after a probation or noviceship of about two years, at the end of that period became a professed member of such community. The other entered at the age of twenty-one, and after a similar probation of nearly three years, made her religious profession for a period of five years, which having now nearly expired she is about to renew for life.

That your petitioner has heard with the surprise and indignation that must pervade the breast of every Englishman that the dominies wherein these children have dedicated themselves in a special manner to the service of Almighty God, according to the dictates of their conscience and their religion, are proposed to be violated by a bill now before your honourable house.

That the recognised security of every Englishman's house is proposed to be invaded in the case of those whose sex and deistical position ought especially to have protected them, in every manly and honourable mind, from outrage and insult.

That the forcible entry, without a shadow of pretence, as proposed by the bill, by strangers in blood, in religious belief, and in personal acquaintance, amongst ladies, many of whom are as highly and nobly born as the daughters of the noblest of the realm, cannot but be felt as an indecent outrage upon their honour, a violation of every privilege of their domestic life, and an unprovoked insult to the religion which they profess. That the existence of religious communities of ladies professing the Roman Catholic religion was especially provided for by the act of Catholic Emancipation.

That, under the sanction and encouragement afforded by that act, many communities of ladies dedicated to religion have established themselves in this country, and become proprietors of houses and landed property.

That the provisions of the proposed act would operate as a bill of expatriation against many of such communities, who would, as under the penal laws of other days, fly from the persecution of such an invasion of their peaceful retirements to countries where, without molestation, they could pursue the devoted course of their religious rule of life.

**GREAT PROTESTANT MEETING AT KENNINGTON.**—The principal incident during the week of the anti-Papal agitation is, a meeting at the Horns Tavern, Kennington, on Thursday evening. The room was "densely crowded," and hundreds were disappointed of obtaining admission. The great feature within was, the reappearance of Earl Winchelsea, and a speech from the Rev. J. Irons, of Camberwell. The noble earl volunteered again to "lead the people," and "promised if they took him as their leader, he would sacrifice his personal comfort and domestic happiness, and become, in fulfilment of his pledge given in 1829, the greatest agitator for Protestant principles," and against "the system of monasteries and nunneries." The rev. gentleman was obliged to remain sitting while he delivered the following extraordinary sentences:

He had come from his bed of sickness—almost a dying man—to be present on this occasion, and he had listened with exquisite interest to the declaration of the noble lord in the chair, more especially to that portion of it in which he announced his willingness to be the leader of the great cause [cheers]. Old as he was he would stand by him sword in hand till he died in defence of their religion against the attacks of the see of Rome [renewed cheers]. The subject ought to be viewed in a twofold light—first, as it appeared before God, and next, as it appeared before man. Upon the first point he believed the awful crisis which had now arrived was the result of the Lord's displeasure in consequence of the degeneracy of England from gospel truth. In regard to the second point of view he considered that it involved an appeal to the common sense of Englishmen, and he would fearlessly ask, did they—had they in any instance ever prevented Papists—he would not say Roman Catholics, for he could not from his mouth pronounce the words—from worshipping as they pleased? He declared solemnly that, if any man in England were determined to worship the devil he would not oppose him, but if that man were to endeavour to persuade him to do likewise that would be quite another thing. All he asked was, that the disciples of the Pope should not have the power to prevent them from worshipping God as they pleased. The Papists would not be content to have a power equal to that of the true Protestants; they must have a superior power, and they would not be content until they could send a confessor into every one of our houses. He had heard of servants who were Jesuits obtaining situations quite regardless of wages, provided they gained admission into houses where they might practise their insidious arts. He was acquainted with a lady who had refused to employ a Roman Catholic servant because she informed her that she considered it her duty to attend the confessional every week and make known everything which occurred in her establishment. For his own part, he would not have a man dig his garden, nor clean his shoes, if he were servant of the Roman Catholic priests. Should he allow a race of vagabonds to come into his house and question his servants as to what took place? No, God forbid! Therefore he would not employ a servant who acknowledged herself liable to such influences. The recent aggres-

sion of the Pope was an insult to the Bible, an indignity to our Queen, and a cruel mockery of our religion. As to our ministers, God forgive their treason! His ardent wish was that they should fight out the question sword in hand to the last; and he desired to have written on his forehead those words which plainly appeared upon the brow of the noble chairman, "No surrender" [loud cheers].

HOW CHILDREN SHOULD BE CHRISTENED.—A striking comment on the merits of ritual observances is furnished in the following letter from Lord Londesborough to the *Times*:

Permit me to acquaint your readers with what occurred at St. Paul's Church, Brighton, on Sunday last. I accompanied Lady Londesborough to that church, for Lady Londesborough to be churched, and our child, an infant of little more than three weeks old, to be baptized. At the font, and during the ceremony of baptism, the officiating clergyman, the Rev. Arthur Wagner, suggested that the infant's hat, cap, and outer garment should be taken off, for they would be made very wet. Upon Lady Londesborough and the monthly nurse being much alarmed at this being done in a cold church, I ventured to ask Mr. Wagner in the most civil manner whether, in consideration of the infant's tender age, and of its not being used to cold water, it would not be possible to baptize it with a little water upon its forehead. That gentleman merely replied that he was not there for me to teach him how to baptize a child. I then addressed the nurse, and asked whether she considered Mr. Wagner's mode of baptism would risk the infant's life. She said that she could not answer for the consequences; that were she the child's parent she would not permit it, and that she hoped I would not. Again I asked Mr. Wagner whether it would not be possible to baptize the child in a milder manner. Closing his eyes, he merely pointed to the passage in the rubric where immersion, or pouring water upon the child, is mentioned. I then declared that it could not take upon myself the responsibility of the infant's life, and that I could not permit the ceremony to proceed; when Mr. Wagner said, "You thus prefer the child's temporal to its spiritual life. I must speak to you as I would to the poorest man—this is a mockery of the ordinances of the Church," and he then left the font. My child has thus been refused admission into the Protestant Church unless at the risk of its life, that risk having been declared by a competent person.

The important matter, it will be seen, has been brought before the House of Commons by the zealous Sir Benjamin Hall. The Bishop of Chichester had meanwhile called for an explanation, and the minister replies to his diocesan and to the public through the *Times*. After stating that he had named the irregularity of there being no sponsors present, he proceeds as follows:

Before taking the child into my arms I requested, as I always do (a suggestion hitherto cheerfully, if not gratefully, complied with) when there is a cap upon the child's head, that it might be removed, and that for two reasons—first, that the cap might not be spoiled by the water; secondly, that the child might not take cold by having the risk of a wet cap upon its head. Upon my making this request the parents expressed alarm lest the child should take cold, and appealed to the nurse whether it were safe or not. I explained to the mother that my sole object in wishing the cap removed was to prevent the child taking cold, and that I would readily baptize it, whether with or without its cap, as she pleased, but that it would be better for the child to take the cap off. The nurse then said, if I remember aright, that there was no occasion to take the cap off, that the smallest drop of water put with the finger on the child's forehead was all that was necessary. Upon this I pointed to the rubric, which sets forth, "It shall suffice to pour water upon it," and referred, as I trust, with calmness to the anomaly of a minister's receiving instruction from a nurse as to how much, or rather how little, water I might be permitted to use. The parents then, after talking aside to each other, requested that the service should cease, and the baptism be postponed till the child was stronger. I remonstrated with them on the inconvenience of beginning the service and discontinuing it without sufficient reason, but to no purpose, for they soon after left the church.

THE ELECTION OF A PERPETUAL CURATE of the parish of St. Mary at the Quay, one of the four parishes of Ipswich which have this privilege by the charter of Elizabeth, took place on Thursday week. The candidates were reduced to two—the Rev. John Dunningham, who is considered one of the orthodox, and the Rev. H. T. Venesse, Curate of St. Peter's, who is of the Evangelical division of the clergy. The election exhibited all the ardour of a political contest, and the newspapers of both parties assert that the same appliances were used to obtain votes as in elections of a secular character; but Mr. Venesse's friends deny that one shilling was improperly expended in that gentleman's behalf. At the close of the poll, which commenced at ten and terminated at five, the numbers were—for Mr. Dunningham, 79; for Mr. Venesse, 74; the majority of five being just equal to the number of votes given by Mr. Cobbold, who had requested a postponement on account of the half-yearly meeting of the railway company, but on this being declined by the churchwardens, had proceeded to town by special train after recording his vote. The Dissenters, headed by Mr. John May, took an active part in behalf of Mr. Venesse, and a lecture has been read to them as interfering in a matter with which they had no concern; but their feeling on the occasion was probably excited by the circumstance of Mr. Dunningham having, in the preceding week, refused to bury the child of a person named Whitman, baptised by the Rev. J. Gay, of Salem Chapel, after requiring two certificates, because the first did not specify that the baptism was performed in the name of the Trinity. Application being made to the Rev. J. P. Rigaud, master of the Grammar-school, he at once consented to bury the child. Mr. Venesse is said to have been requested to perform the ceremony, but to have excused himself on account of the multifarious duties of his curacy. The whole of these circumstances afford a striking exemplification of the false position of the Church—a minister subject to the choice of parishioners who refuse to attend his ordinary services; a population of divers creeds subject to the occasional offices of a minister who refuses to perform those offices over the seceders from his Church.—*Bury Post*.

THE POPE has refused passports to one of his bishops, and to several of his subjects, who were desirous of visiting London during the Exhibition. This disposes of the report that the Pope was himself coming; and we (the *Church and State Gazette*) are glad of it, for the people of this country would have given a terrible lesson to the insulter of their Sovereign. (1)

PROSECUTION OF PUSETITES.—THE REV. C. S. CAFFIN.—On Sunday week, Mr. Colquhoun, deputy chairman of the National Club, accompanied by three or four friends, entered the church of the Holy Trinity, Westerham, for the purpose of hearing the Rev. C. S. Caffin. He took notes of every portion of the service.—*Church and State Gazette*.—The Archbishop of Canterbury has instituted proceedings against the Rev. S. Caffin, a Kentish clergyman, for Puseyite practices, and proposes to deal with other Romanizing priests.—*ib.*

MR. H. DRUMMOND has written to the *Times*, defending himself from the severe strictures of the *Tablet* and other Roman Catholic journals:

It is difficult to conceive that any one can think an attack upon the imposture of the Virgin's milk can be a slight upon her. Is any allusion to her milk irreverent? Then is the Papacy most culpable, for at the Reformation the cathedral of Glasgow boasted of four phials of her milk. In the church of the Holy Cross, at Rome, to this day is shown a bottle of her pretended milk; the churches of St. Cecilia, St. Cosmo, and St. Maria Transpontine are equally indecent, by exhibiting the same imposture. As it was not irreverent to our Saviour to expose and denounce the imposture of his coat, neither is it disrespectful to the mother of our Lord to denounce a similar imposture of the priests connected with her name.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY has been appealed to by the Rev. Mr. Codnor, whom the Bishop of Exeter has refused to license, on the grounds of his objection to Mr. Gorham, but the primate can give "nothing better than sympathy."

DULWICH COLLEGE.—The ceremony of electing a warden of this important charity took place yesterday week. The election is vested in the master, four fellows, and six assistants. The six assistants are the two churchwardens of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, two churchwardens of St. Luke's, and the two senior churchwardens of St. Saviour's, Southwark. There has been, for a long time, a feeling on the part of some of the assistants that this rich charity has not been administered in the way it ought to have been, and this has led to many attempts to secure that the directions of the founder should be properly carried out; if the extension of the charity could not be effected; and at present there is a memorial upon the subject before the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is the visitor. The candidates selected were John Hensleigh Allen, on the part of the college, and Richard William Allen, on the part of the assistants. These two gentlemen then drew lots; of two rolls of paper one was inscribed with the words, "God's Gift." The important words were found on the paper taken by the nominee of the assistants. The course pursued by the assistants on this occasion had not been adopted for the last twenty years.

TRACT SOCIETY'S PRIZE ESSAYS.—The second prize of £50 has been awarded by the committee of the Religious Tract Society to the Rev. W. M. O'Hanlon, Congregational minister of Belfast, for an essay on the condition of the working classes. This essay, which is in the press, while embracing the more special topics demanded by the original proposal of the society—such as "moral causes," and "personal character and habits"—aims, so far as the prescribed space would admit, at a general discussion of the subject in its various bearings, and is designed for general readers—for employers as well as the employed.

THE MAY MEETINGS.—We understand that the British and Foreign School Society contemplate holding their general meeting in May this year in the large School-room in the Borough-road; and that the committee have it under consideration, either to hold a special meeting at Exeter-hall later in the year, or in some other way to direct attention to the society, when so many strangers are expected to be in London. The latter idea may be worth the consideration of other societies.

THE MANCHESTER EDUCATIONAL SCHEME.—The Roman Catholic priesthood of Manchester and Salford have seceded as a body from any promotion of the plan made public by the Rev. C. Richardson, and embodied in the prospectus of the Manchester and Salford Municipal Education Association, on the ground that Roman Catholics are not to be treated equally with Protestants in the consideration paid to their views on Scripture, &c.

A PROTESTANT MISSION TO ROME.—It has this week been reported, and we have been assured that it is on good foundation, that steps have been taken to carry into operation the suggestion thrown out by the Rev. R. P. Blakeney, incumbent of St. Paul's, Islington, in his lecture on Popery, delivered some months since in the Assembly Rooms, in reference to the appointment of Protestant missionaries to labour among the inhabitants of Rome and Italy. The important preliminary, the raising sufficient funds, has already been done, and the first missionary is to be sent out immediately. Mr. Blakeney himself, as the proposer of the plan, is, it is said, to have the honour of being the person first selected for the onerous office.—*Nottingham Mercury*.

SECESSIONS AT LEEDS TO ROMAN CATHOLICISM.—It has been known for some time that five clergymen, and twelve or fourteen of the laity connected with St. Saviour's, Leeds, had resolved on entering the Romish Church. On Thursday evening, several of them publicly made their recantation of Protestantism; the others having done so privately. St. Anne's Catholic Chapel was appropriated to the ceremony, and was densely crowded. The Rev. Mr. Brown first explained the service to the congregation. Then came the hymn to the Holy Ghost, followed by the 51st Psalm; a few prayers appropriate to the occasion were next read, and then

the new converts read their recantation of Protestantism, or profession of faith (as stated in the Creed of Pope Pius V.), at the foot of the altar. This done, the officiating priest pronounced over them absolution from all ecclesiastical censures; the service being concluded by the chanting of the *Tu Domum*, and an address by Dr. Newman.

ILLNESS OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON.—It having been understood in the parish of Knightsbridge during the past week that the Bishop would on Sunday occupy the pulpit of St. Paul's, for the purpose of advising the congregation on their new and peculiar position since the removal of Mr. Bennett, and the simplification of the service there, a large congregation assembled. Mr. Liddell, however, ascended the pulpit after prayers, and said that the bishop was so ill as to be unable to leave his house, and invited those present to join him in prayer for the restoration of the rev. prelate's health.—*Daily News*,

THE REV. R. SHUTTE, a minor canon of St. Paul's, has recently been elected evening lecturer at the church of St. Bartholomew the Great. The rector, Mr. Abbs, however, has virtually set aside this appointment by refusing to allow his reverend brother to enter the pulpit, and engaging another gentleman to preach the evening sermon in the meantime. Mr. Shutte declines opposition to the rector, and has issued an address to the parishioners to that effect. The parish have taken the advice of civilians upon the subject, and find that they have no part in the matter except paying the salary of the lecturer. Calvinistic doctrines and a habit of extempore preaching are said to be the cardinal objections of the rector to Mr. Shutte.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH.—The following table is copied from the annual report of the Gospel Propagation Society, just issued:

Bishopric founded.	No. of clergy when see was founded.	No. in 1850.
1825 Jamaica .....	57	118
1825 Barbadoes .....	50	129
1830 Toronto .....	71	139
1839 Newfoundland .....	10	45
1841 New Zealand .....	9	31
1842 Tasmania .....	19	51
1845 Frederikton .....	30	52
1847 Melbourne .....	3	15
1847 Adelaide .....	11	22
1847 Newcastle .....	17	27
1847 Capetown .....	13	38
	390	635

THE NEW OMNIBUS.—A vehicle has been running between Baywater and Charing-cross for several days, with the view of inviting public opinion to several important innovations in omnibus construction. The most striking feature of the carriage is, that it is wholly divided into separate compartments, each approached by its own door, and all the doors reached by a gallery which runs round the body of the carriage. In each of the compartments, which are fitted up in the style of a miniature brougham, a bell, or check-string, is fixed, by which the conductor's attention may be called to the wishes of the passenger. Some ingenuity is exhibited in the manner by which the gallery or balcony is contrived so as not to interfere with the wheels, or to render the width of the whole greater than usual. A similar exercise of ability is shown in making the open seats upon the roof both convenient and exclusive; and these are arrived at by a set of steps easy of ascent and descent, at the back of the carriage, where the only door is in the common omnibus. All these, and other details, appear to have been well considered. The weight of the carriage is no more than in others, and the draught for the horses is, indeed, somewhat lessened. In word, it appears to be a nest of three-penny cabs of a superior class, only going to fixed distance.

OPENING OF THE WEST-HAM AND STRATFORD BRITISH AND INFANT SCHOOLS.—A new and handsome school-house has lately been erected in Stratford for the education of girls, without any regard to the party views or denominational relations of their parents. The building, besides affording enlarged accommodation for the already existing Girls' British School, provides a commodious room for an infant school. The girls' school has, for several years past, been conducted on the system of the British and Foreign School Society, in the school-room of Brick-fields Chapel, with great success. The generosity of John Tucker, Esq., of West-Ham Abbey, who gave the ground on which the new building stands, and the munificent pecuniary aid afforded by Samuel Gurney, Esq., of Upton, together with the liberal contributions of many other friends to the education of the poor, have sufficed to meet all the expenses, so that the schools are free from debt. On the afternoon of Thursday, a public meeting was held in the spacious and lofty school-room, on the occasion of its opening. The chair was occupied by Samuel Gurney, Esq. After an introductory speech from him the girls were examined in reading, geography, grammar, domestic economy, arithmetic, &c., in all which they acquitted themselves to the great satisfaction of the meeting. Several neat articles, chiefly of needle-work, and made by the girls, were then presented by them to Mrs. Gurney, Mrs. H. E. Gurney, the Misses Allicards, and Miss Shipman, in grateful acknowledgment of their disinterested and valuable services; and a similar token of gratitude and affection was also presented to Miss Martin, the governess. The meeting was then addressed by Sir E. N. Buxton, M.P., Henry Dunn, Esq., of the Borough-road School, the Rev. T. E. Stallybrass, and Jabez Legg, Esq. After a vote of thanks to the chairman the meeting separated.

It is proposed to restore the monument to Chaucer in Westminster Abbey, and subscriptions are being raised for the purpose.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

**PORTLAND CHAPEL, CIRCUS-ROAD, ST. JOHN'S-WOOD.**—This chapel, having been transferred to the London Congregational Chapel Building Society, and having been closed to undergo repairs and alterations, was re-opened on Wednesday, March 26. The Rev. J. C. Harrison preached in the morning; the Rev. J. Stoughton in the evening; the Rev. C. Dukes, E. Mannerling, J. Nunn, G. Wilkins, H. Godwin, and the Rev. J. C. Gallaway, took part in the public services of the day. A collation was provided in the school-room, at which the Rev. G. Wilkins presided, and at which several addresses were delivered expressive of warm approval of the arrangements that had been made in respect to the future management of Portland Chapel, and expressive of earnest hope that the labours of the Rev. G. Wilkins, who had been invited by the Committee of the Chapel Building Society to carry on his ministry there, would be attended with the abundant blessing of God. On the following Sunday the Rev. G. Wilkins preached in the morning, and the Rev. H. Gamble in the evening. The chapel will seat more than 600 persons, is very neatly finished, very much improved in appearance by the recent alterations, is well situated, and is surrounded by a large and increasing population. Through the assistance and arrangements of the Chapel Building Society, the debt has been reduced from £750 to £500.

**NEW INDEPENDENT CHAPEL, PENDLETON, MANCHESTER.**—This elegant and commodious chapel was erected in 1847 for the use of the congregation under the pastoral care of the Rev. A. E. Pearce. Its original cost was rather more than £3,700, of which amount £2,000 was raised at the time, leaving a debt of nearly £1,700. During the three years and a half which have elapsed, the congregation, which has been gradually increasing, had paid the interest of the debt and reduced the principal by £100, besides meeting the ordinary expenses, which have been considerable. About six months ago, the pastor proposed the entire liquidation of the debt in six months, by raising three-fourths of the amount among themselves, and by appealing to other Christian friends for the remainder; and ventured to state the amounts which he thought their principal friends might be induced to contribute. His proposal was most cheerfully responded to, and in the course of a week nearly £1,200 was promised on condition that the entire sum was raised: viz., Mrs. Bullock, £365; Sir E. Armitage, £250; Mr. John Hewitt, £250; Rev. A. E. Pearce, £50; and £250 from other friends in the congregation. Mr. Pearce then pledged himself to secure the remainder by donations from gentlemen connected with other congregations, and by a closing service in March. On Tuesday evening, March 25th, Dr. Raffles preached in the chapel, when a collection was made. On the following evening, a large party of friends assembled in the commodious school-rooms to celebrate the liquidation of the debt. J. Sidebottom Esq., presided; and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Drs. Halley and Clunie, James Griffin, R. Fletcher, John Raven, D. E. Ford, J. L. Poore, and A. E. Pearce. As it appeared from the treasurer's account that £100 remained to be collected to complete the effort, the meeting most liberally responded to the appeal made to them, and before the close of the evening, the last vestige of incumbrance was removed.

**TREVOR CHAPEL CITY MISSION.**—On the 3rd inst. some friends of the above institution met for the purpose of presenting Mr. John Gurney, the late Missionary of the society, with a memorial of their esteem of his labours during a period of nearly nine years. The memorial was accompanied by elegantly-bound copies of the following works—viz., "Bagger's Blank Page Bible," "Horne's Critical Introduction to the Scriptures" (5 vols.), "Kitto's Biblical Cyclopaedia," (2 vols.), "Martineau's History of the Thirty Years' Peace," (2 vols.) Mr. Gurney, in briefly thanking his friends for their kind sympathy in his past labours, said that on the same day six years previous, the Rev. Dr. Morison presented him with a copy of "Cobbin's Condensed Commentary" and "Cruden's Concordance," in the name of several friends.

**BARNET.**—On Wednesday, March 19, the Rev. A. Stewart took leave of the church and congregation in Wood-street Chapel. Mr. Puget, of Totteridge, took the chair on the occasion. An address was read by the senior deacon, Mr. Gregory, who, in the name of the church and congregation, presented the retiring pastor with his own portrait, by Hughes. Mr. Stewart made his acknowledgments for this mark of the esteem in which, after twenty-eight years' ministry he is held.

**WELCH VOLUNTARYISM.**—The Welch Baptist Church, meeting at Eldon-street, Moorfields, London, having had to contend with considerable difficulties during some years past, owing to the large amount of debt on their place of worship, an effort was made during the past year to remove it, and it has been attended with that result which is always to be expected from the united energies of a zealous people. The debt at the commencement of 1850 amounted to upwards of £250. A plan was then organized by the pastor (the Rev. B. Williams), that a certain number of collecting cards, the aggregate of which represented the total sum, should be issued, and divided among an equal number of the members and friends, each of whom became responsible for the amount specified thereon. At the commencement of last month, the whole was paid, showing that the Voluntary system, when properly and efficiently superintended, is the most effectual and powerful agency which can be adopted for the accomplishment of a work of this nature.

**SAXMUNDHAM, SUFFOLK.**—The Rev. Thomas Sowter, of Stansfield, having accepted the cordial and unanimous invitation of the church assembling at the New Independent Chapel in this place, will commence his stated labours (D.V.) on the second Sabbath of this month.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## A TIMELY DECLARATION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR.—The General Baptist Church in Boston, moved by grief at late measures adopted by the Government, and by various bodies of religionists, both in the Establishment and among Dissenters, desire, through your columns, to record and publish their solemn and deliberate conviction that all human legislation in matters of religion is misplaced, futile, and mischievous. That although Roman Catholicism is a system of political power mingled with corrupted Christianity—and is fatal to the social, moral, and spiritual wellbeing of mankind,—yet, till its votaries invade the civil rights of others, it is not the province of the Government to interfere.

That the history of penal laws for the repression of Roman Catholicism in this country and Ireland has demonstrated that all such enactments are ineffectual as well as unjust, and that the mutilated bill now before Parliament, endeavouring to avoid direct persecution, clearly shows that Government action in religious matters is effete and ridiculous.

That it is in the Church of Christ alone, in the use of merely spiritual means, the hopes of humanity depend for truth and liberty.

That it is the duty of Protestant Dissenters in the present day to protest against all grants of public money for religious purposes—whether at home or in the colonies—whether to Papists or Protestants; and especially against the *Regium Donum*, by which Dissenters themselves are ensnared, weakened, and dishonoured.

We are, dear Sir, on behalf of the General Baptist Church, Boston, Lincolnshire,

THOS. W. MATHEWS, Pastor.

WM. SMALL,

J. NOBLE,

S. MUNFORD,

JOSEPH BOOTHBY,

GEORGE F. BAYLEY,

Deacons.

April 6, 1851.

## THE STATE-CHURCH AND THE DEAD.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

MR. EDITOR.—A correspondent in your last number wishes to know why Dissenters should complain of the refusal of the State clergy to bury them according to the forms of the Church of England; and, in reply, you say, "We think there is a vast deal of superstition among Dissenters, which it would be much to their credit if they got rid of."

I submit that this is disposing of the matter in too summary a way.

It should be remembered that parish churchyards are the property, not of a sect, but of the public, every parishioner having the right of interment at common law. They are, besides, frequently the only places of sepulture in a neighbourhood. Dissenters are, therefore, as much entitled to have their own religious services at the graves of their relatives, and to have them conducted by their own ministers, as members of the Church of England. But, by the cunning contrivance of "consecration," clerical rapacity has converted churchyard earth into a sacred monopoly for the benefit of the clergy of the dominant sect.

It follows, that in cases where no other burial-ground exists, Dissenters can choose their own religious services, or have their own ministers, only by interring their dead in their gardens, or in similar places; and, where recourse is had to the parish churchyard, it is in the power of any clerical bigot, conscientious or otherwise, who will risk a violation of the law (which is against him only where parties have been baptized), to outrage public feeling by insisting that the body of a man shall be buried like that of dog, without the survivors receiving those words of comfort or of admonition which custom has sanctioned, and the occasion naturally suggests.

And what of that? it may be asked. To those in whom stern adherence to principle rises superior to the ordinary feelings of humanity it may signify nothing. But I should hesitate to condemn the long-established association of religious observances with the interment of the dead, or to characterise as superstitious those who, having no objection to the funeral rites of the Church of England, where they may be truthfully employed, wish to avail themselves of them, not because they are such, but simply because the performance of any other has been made impossible.

The grievance, moreover, is not confined to Dissenters, for it is a hardship on clergymen to be obliged to use a form of service on occasions when its appropriateness is doubtful, and still more when they are conscious that it sanctions a pernicious delusion. But in their case, the hardship is one of their choosing. They have sold themselves into spiritual slavery, and have to "grind in the prison-house" accordingly.

When will the Protestantism of the British laity be stirred-up to sweep away the abominations of the Church of England, as well as those of the Church of Rome? Let State-clerics denounce as they will the enormities of the rival Church, it has no more revolting feature than that which gives to Protestant ecclesiastics a right to levy black-mail on the carcasses of the people. It is surely odious enough to tax during life-time the members of all churches, and of no churches, for the benefit of one, but that there should be secured to the clergy of that Church (as is done by the various Cemetery Acts) compensation for the loss of dead bodies not buried in their pestilence-creating graveyards—and that any surplus arising from this dead-tax should be applied (as is provided for by the Metropolitan Interments Act) to the purposes of *Church extension*—is an evidence that even the freest nation upon earth has yet to slip its neck from the yoke of sacerdotal despotism.

Yours truly,

CATO.

[We submit to our correspondent that Dissenters are not precluded from any religious observances they

prefer in connexion with the burial of their dead. They are only prevented from celebrating them in the parish churchyard. If it were not for superstition, would not their own places of worship serve for the scene as well? —En. Noncon.]

## THE REGIUM DONUM.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR.—The letter of the Secretary of the Anti-state-church Association relative to the *Regium Donum*, has reminded me that the death of the Reverend Dr. Pye Smith has left a vacancy in the trio of distributors, who form the channel through which the Treasury gold finds its way into the hands of unknown violators of Dissenting principles.

Recollecting that Dr. Smith's name was a tower of strength to the Donumites, it becomes important to watch for the appointment of his successor. He, it will be remembered, was unwilling to relinquish the office from an amiable anxiety to avoid, by so doing, injuring the present recipients. Any one now applied to to occupy his place, will stand in a different position. Will any minister of mark and standing in the Independent body run counter to the strongly-expressed opinion of that body on the subject, by accepting the office at the hands of the Whig Government? We shall see.

I THESS. v. 22.

## April 8, 1851.

## THE ELECTIONS AND ELECTION COMMITTEES.

The disclosures made before the select committee of the House of Commons appointed to try the merits of the petition presented against the return of Mr. Frederick Calvert for Aylesbury, do not say much for the purity of restricted constituencies, or the honour of the law-making classes. The petition complained, in general terms, of bribery and treating. Mr. James, Q.C., who appeared as counsel for the petitioners, said that the complaints were not so much to be wondered at when it was remembered that Aylesbury had always been famous for such practices. The numbers polled on the occasion in question were—for Mr. Calvert, 499 votes, for Mr. Houghton, 197, giving a majority of 302 in favour of the former. Aylesbury, said Mr. James, had "several times before been convicted." It had figured in the journals of the House of Commons as having been guilty of treating from the year 1841, when the first case occurred, in which a member of Parliament was unseated, down to the date of Mr. Deering's petition in 1847, who was unseated for the same offence. After particularizing sundry persons who had been taking an active part in plying the constituents, Mr. James mentioned a certain mysterious individual, whose personal identity could not be proved, and who passed under the ominous sobriquet of "The Man in the Moon." This unknown gentleman appeared upon the scene the day before the nomination, and perpetrated many dark and extraordinary acts, but could be traced as having been constantly seen in communication with the agents of Mr. Calvert. This unknown person took up his quarters at the Bell as a commercial traveller, and commenced distributing "treating tickets" to a large amount among the voters in Aylesbury and in the rural districts, and, by way of bribing the publicans, it would be proved that he paid for entertainments which the publicans provided, and "which nobody came to consume," thus perpetrating the double offence of bribing the publican and treating the voter. The first witness was William Loch, landlord of the Saracen's Head, at Aylesbury. He deposed that when applied to by Mr. Calvert's agents, he said, "I shall vote for whoever I can get something from, whether Byles, Calvert, or Houghton." A few days after, a stranger called at the Saracen's Head, dressed in black, and giving Holt five sovereigns, directed him to prepare dinner for twenty on the nomination day, telling him the tickets would be signed "J. C." Dinner was to be ready at two o'clock; witness deferred it until five, but nobody came. At seven o'clock the unknown gentleman in black ("the Man in the Moon") visited him, and said, "Well, Loch, how many tickets have you had?" to which witness replied, "Never a one;" upon which the unknown said, "Well, provide the same number for to-morrow." A few days after the same person called and asked for the tickets. Witness's wife gave him eighteen; the stranger asked for the other two, and was told that "it had been taken out by a man for a bottle of wine," upon which the unknown gentleman paid £4 10s. and departed. Shortly after, when witness was enjoying a glass at the Oxford Arms, "the Man in the Moon" came in, and witness retired behind a screen in order that he might not be seen. Heard "the Man in the Moon" put down some sovereigns, and tell the landlord he was to give dinner to those who had tickets marked "J. C." Witness observed, "You've had a better pull than me; you've had six sovereigns; I had only five."

A number of other innkeepers and publicans were similarly dealt with. Of a personal knowledge of all this, however, the successful candidate was acquitted by the committee. He had paid the lord of the manor £1,800 for necessary expenses, but enjoined upon him that nothing should be spent illegally or immorally. Half of the sum the local Radical paper (*the Bucks Advertiser*) puts down for the retaining fees of the solicitors, and of a Methodist preacher who leads "the mob" on such occasions. The "Man in the Moon" doubtless disposed with ease of the remainder. Mr. Ferrand, and Mr. Bethell, Q.C., are now canvassing the electors; the nomination taking place to-morrow.

The St. Albans committee have been obstructed in their investigations by obstinate and audacious breaches of the law and of Parliamentary privileges. They had ascertained from witnesses, that Mr. Bell

was returned by a majority of poor voters—that money was very flush at the time of the election, under the name of "Bell-metal"—and that one Edwards had a room in a place called Sovereign-alley, in which he saw the voters individually—that sovereigns were placed on the table, a vote promised to Bell, and the money and voter disappeared together. But the committee wanted more specific evidence; and several important witnesses being *non est inventus*, advertisements were inserted in the morning papers, bills sent to all the railway stations, and placards posted in all the chief towns. Meanwhile the committee adjourned, and on their re-assembling, a Mrs. Elizabeth Edwards, living at Limehouse, refusing to tell where her brother in-law, Waggett, was to be found, was given into custody. Terrified and contrite she consented to be driven to his lodgings, but he had been precipitately removed, and the frightened landlady identified the Edwards of Sovereign-alley as the lawyer who had supplied him with money, and spirited him away. Two of the missing witnesses were now forthcoming, but one Lynes prevaricated so much that the chairman ordered him into custody, and solitary confinement—which produced a great sensation. Mr. James, Q.C., at the instigation of the attorney for the other side, got a *habeas corpus*, but the Sergeant-at-Arms declined obeying it, and Lynes was accordingly locked-up till Monday morning. He then showed a better disposition, and was discharged; but the committee resolved to apply for a Speaker's warrant for the apprehension of Waggett, Edwards, and Hayward, which, it will be seen from our Parliamentary columns, was unanimously granted.

Sir John Romilly, the new Master of the Rolls; Sir Alexander Cockburn, the new Attorney-General; and Mr. Page Wood, the new Solicitor-General; have been re-elected, without opposition, for Devonport, Southampton, and Oxford respectively. Mr. Edward Strutt has been quietly elected for Coventry, in the room of Mr. Turner, the new Vice-Chancellor. The Liberals of Rochdale have unanimously requested Mr. Bright to stand for that, his native borough, at the retirement of Mr. S. Crawford: he would almost certainly be returned unopposed. Mr. Gore Langton has agreed to stand for West Somerset, the election for which comes off this week.

#### PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS.

The Minority of 83 on the second reading of Mr. Locke King's Bill:—

Aglionby, H. A.	Hastie, Alex.	O'Connell, M. J.
Alcock, T.	Headlam, T. E.	O'Connor, F.
Anstey, T. C.	Henry, A.	O'Flaherty, A.
Barron, Sir H. W.	Heywood, J.	Pechell, Sir G. B.
Bass, M. T.	Heyworth, L.	Pilkington, J.
Blake, M. J.	Higgins, G. G. O.	Power, Dr.
Bright, J.	Hobhouse, T. B.	Reynolds, John
Brown, H.	Hodges, T. L.	Sadler, J.
Ghaplin, W. J.	Hodges, T. T.	Saiwell, Colonel
Clay, J.	Horsman, E.	Serape, G. P.
Clifford, H. M.	Howard, P. H.	Seelye, F.
Cobden, R.	Keogh, W. O.	Shafte, R. D.
Copeland, Mr. Ald.	Kershaw, J.	Sidney, Mr. Alderman
Carbally, M. E.	Lawless, Hon. C.	Somers, J. P.
Cowan, C.	Lennard, T. B.	Staunton, Sir G. T.
Crawford, W. S.	McCollagh, W. T.	Strickland, Sir G.
Devereux, J. T.	Magan, W. H.	Sullivan, M.
Divett, E.	Maher, N. V.	Tenison, E. K.
Duke, Sir J.	Meagher, T.	Trelawny, J. S.
Duncan, Viscount	Milner, W. M. E.	Walkey, T.
Duncombe, T.	Moffatt, G.	Wall, C. B.
Evans, Sir De Lacy	Molesworth, Sir W.	Walmley, Sir J.
Fox, W. J.	Morris, D.	Wawn, J. T.
Gibson, Rt. Hon. T. M.	Mowatt, F.	Williams, J.
Granger, T. C.	Muntz, G. F.	Williams, W.
Greene, J.	Nugent, Sir P.	
Grenfell, C. P.	O'Brien, J.	TELLERS.
Hall, Sir B.	O'Brien, Sir T.	King, L.
Hardcastle, J. A.	O'Connell, J.	Hume, J.

Members absent from the second division who voted with Mr. Locke King on the first:—

Anderson, A.	Hanmer, Sir J. B.	Perfect, B.
Blewitt, R. J.	Hastie, A.	Pinney, W.
Brocklehurst, J.	Humphery, Ald. J.	Robartes, T. J. A.
Brotherton, J.	Hutt, W.	Scholefield, W.
Calvert, F.	Jackson, W.	Smith, Rt. Hon. V.
Carter, J. B.	Keating, B.	Smith, John B.
Colebrooke, Sir T.	Locke, J.	Stanfield, W. B. C.
Collins, W.	Lushington, C.	Stuart, Lord D.
D'Eyncourt, C.	Mackie, J.	Tancock, H. W.
Drummond, H.	McGregor, J.	Thickness, R. A.
Ellis, J.	M'Taggart, Sir J., Bt.	Thorneley, T.
Evans, W.	Mangies, R. D.	Villiers, Hon. F. W.
Ewart, W.	Moore, G. H.	Wood, W. P.*
Fagan, W.	Oswald, A.	

\* Seat vacated by appointment as Solicitor-General.

Members who voted with Mr. Locke King on the first, but against him on the second division:—

Adair, H. E.	Forster, M.	Rice, E. R.
Adair, R. A. S.	Harris, R.	Slaney, R. A.
Brown, W.	Langston, J. H.	Thompson, Lt.-Col.
Bunbury, E. H.	Loveden, P.	Wilson, M.

**WHOLESALE DISFRANCHISEMENT.**—We feel it our duty to keep before the public eye the astonishing effects of the Small Tenements Act, which, in the township of Bradford alone, has disfranchised, in relation to the election of guardians, as many as 3,200 out of the 11,600 votes; and in Horton, 5,000 out of 6,000! Facts like these are stronger without comment than with it—we simply recall attention to the tremendous fact.—*Bradford Observer*.

**GENERAL BOARD OF HEALTH.**—The Government bill for confirming certain provisional orders of the General Board of Health is printed. Its orders relate to the appointment of local boards at Market Harborough, Wolborough, Gateshead, Doncaster, West Cowes, Hartlepool, and Great Yarmouth, at which places elections are to take place on the 1st of August next.

The *Watchman* states that the income of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for 1850, is £104,661 15s. 4d.

#### FATHER GAVAZZI ON THE JESUITS.

The eloquent padre commenced his fourteenth oration with a strange and comical reference. He had received, professedly from a lady, a letter in unexceptionable Italian, whereby the fair writer offered to renounce in his favour her share of Paradise, provided he brought his lectures to a close by publicly apologizing for his attacks on the Popedom! He knew not where to address this enthusiastic cat's-paw of the Jesuits; but as doubtless their spies were in the crowded auditory, they might convey to their employers his scornful rejection of their overtures, and, at the same time, his disinclination to deprive the lady of her vested interest in the abodes of bliss, a title hardly negotiable in this projected transfer and surrender. He had a great work before him, a nation to rescue, a degraded worship to purify, a foul aggregate of infernal impostures to denounce and demolish; to that task he would gird up his loins and freely devote the energies of his life [acclamations]. The attitude he assumed towards this order of mischievous ubiquity had its attendant annoyances and risks; but he had learned from the dauntless spirit of Paul to hazard every contingency in the championship of truth, and trampled in the dust personal apprehensions. He came not to distort or to exaggerate. In the ranks of organized treachery were to be found unconscious agents and deluded dupes. These men were put forward as a mask. Arrayed ostensibly as members of the corporation, their individual character and plausibility helped to disarm and to delude. Behind them lurked the plotter and the cheat, the foul type of sanctified intrigue, the byword for consecrated fraud in the vocabulary of mankind. At his approach, the balance between good and evil, as far as the whole body is involved, ceases to be doubtful. False appearances kick the beam, and while the flimsy counterpoise is borne aloft, the deep-laden scale of duplicity descends. For such a man it were better for the church of God he pretends to serve that a millstone should be tied round his neck to sink him in the unfathomable sea. By what foul process was such a being fabricated? The cave of Mantza was the dark laboratory of this Spanish fanaticism, and the "spiritual exercises" of its fitting Alcoran. A frightful phantasmagoria was conjured up around the votary of blind obedience, and the proudest attribute of the soul, free will, was forcibly eradicated. The man who entered came forth a machine. Home, friends, kindred, country, he knew thenceforth no more. A spy on his confederates, he is himself girt round by a gang of informers. The heart that beats in a human bosom is dead to all further emotion. The mind has abdicated its godlike functions. A dog with its chain and collar is scouted as an apt embodiment of his new condition by the *exponents* of the system. That implies vitality. A wooden stock or a corpse, "*baculus aut cadaver*," is put forth as the dismal residuum precipitated by the alchemy of Loyola. The intoxicating hemp, by the fumes of which the "old man of the" Syrian "mountains" lulled the senses of his murderous emissaries, ere he sent them forth on his errands of assassination throughout Asia, faintly foreshadowed this formidable agency of blind obedience. Poverty and chastity were vowed, but were held in theory and practice as mere secondary appendages to the first and distinctive badge of the tribe, unscrupulous execution of the superior's mandate. The speaker entered into copious details as to their methods of acquiring wealth, and the sumptuous palaces they contrived to appropriate in all the great towns of Europe; while he furnished not less forcible instances of their laxity in point of morals, drawn from notorious occurrences, such as at Monte Pulciano and Modena, in Italy; Montpellier and Marseilles, in France. He exonerated their founder, Ignatius, from the imputation of having planned in its subsequent form of hideous development the full scheme of the society's ambitious organization, which he traced to the Neapolitan Aquaviva, during whose generalship of the order the crafty principles of Macchiavellian policy were engraven on the original stock of stupid but energetic fanaticism. Their influence on European cabinets, and the pernicious working of their obstructive and retrograde industry throughout the world, he would reserve for separate animadversion; making but a brief allusion to a kind of prophecy still treasured up among the traditions of the order, "We entered Europe as lambs, became formidable as wolves, were chased away like dogs, but our youth shall be renewed like that of the eagle." Aye, from Venice, from Portugal, from Spain, France, and Germany, the hell-hounds were driven out amid the jubilee of mankind; but it is deplorably true that their society reappears under the cognizance of an eagle, the tyrannous, two-necked, ill-omened emblem that darkens Italy with its disastrous shadow, until the avenging arm of the people shall be finally put forth to crush the obscene phenomenon, and bury in one grave the carnivorous bird with the purveyors of its carrion.

Thus far the orator seemed but to prelude by a few preliminary touches the general argument, which he now divided into two branches; the order considered as auxiliary to the popes individually, and next, as subsidiary to the general interests of the church; to both which parties he undertook to show it had proved a bitter bad bargain. The original compact between this corps of banded janissaries and the father of the faithful, involved pretty much the same dependency as the Pretorian guards imposed on their nominal masters in the decline of imperial Rome; the pontiffs ceased to be free agents; infallibility became a puppet in the hands of these, its upholders and satellites, to the constant and ludicrous annoyance of its ostensible possessor. In the great controversy about divine

grace, Clement VIII. had the hardihood to question the theories of the Jesuit Molina, and showed leaning towards the old doctrines of the Dominican Aquinas; an independence unfavourable to longevity as far as his holiness was concerned, he having died notoriously "*nel odore di veleno*." His repugnance to canonize Fathers Garnet and Oldcorn for their share in the gunpowder plot was doubtless intolerable, when his predecessor had sung *To Arms* for the kindred performance of St. Bartholomew. The urgency with which the order down to this day clamours for the canonization of Bellarmine and for the public recognition of his ultramortane creed is felt to be a perpetual nuisance; in the case of the venerable Palafax, their veto was found sufficient to invalidate the acknowledged sanctity of an adversary. In all the minor details of Church-government, their pressure is felt, and their ill-dissembled omnipotence exhibited. As for services done to the Church, the scandals and odium they had brought on Christianity vastly outweighed and fearfully counterbalanced any merits of that kind—to illustrate which the Jesuit confessors of kings were paraded in ghastly deformity before the moral sense of the auditory; Père La Chaise, Père Letellier, and other panderers to royal profligacy in every European Court. In the foul department of casuistry they held an unenviable eminence, Escobar, Busenbaum, and a host of similar scribes, laboured to mystify the plainest principles of morality; while the prurient Sanches had produced three folios on matrimony of such revolting indecency as to be publicly burnt by the common hangman in France pursuant to decree of the Parisian Parliaments. Dissimulation, perfidy, and falsehood were the familiar instrumentalities resorted to in their championing of Roman Catholic ascendancy, and their devotional inventions, into which the father entered at considerable length, were derogatory to the Redeemer and the great work of his atonement. For two hours he continued to accumulate facts and draw inferences illustrative of the mischief traceable to this fatal institution, and though the ground he went over has been frequently trodden, old arguments appeared fresh, trite statements were clothed in such novelty and force of diction as to keep the assembly in breathless attention to the close.

#### IRELAND.

With the exception of an address from Primate Cullen to his clergy, stimulating them to exertion on behalf of the University, there is nothing in the Irish papers but electioneering preparations. Mr. John O'Connell has pacified his constituents, the Limerick corporation having, by 17 to 9, rescinded their vote of censure. Mr. Maurice O'Connell, the member for Tralee, having addressed a letter to his constituents, desiring to know their wishes, as a body, as to the course which they would deem it advisable for him to pursue in voting on divisions which would affect the stability of the Ministry, a meeting of the electors of Tralee has accordingly been held, and a reply voted, in which Mr. O'Connell is told, that "Lord John Russell has for ever forfeited the confidence of the Catholics of the empire," and therefore that "it becomes his (Mr. O'Connell's) imperative duty, in union with the members of Parliament who have already so distinguished themselves by their vote on Disraeli's motion, to labour unceasingly to effect the overthrow of his administration."

Mr. Whiteside, Q.C., has announced himself as a representative for Enniskillen, vacant by the resignation of the Hon. Col. Cole. Mr. Cullom, a solicitor, has for some time been canvassing the borough. Sir W. Somerville, the Irish Chief Secretary, has declined to a requisition from electors of Drogheda, calling on him to resign his seat on account of his vote on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. Mr. Fagan has resigned in obedience to the dissatisfied electors of Cork. Longford is vacant, and Mr. Maguire, the defeated of Dungarvon, is spoken of to contest it, Serjeant Shee declining the brief and expensive honour.

**THE CENSUS.**—Until the first of June is allowed to the statisticians of Craig-court to complete their return to the Home Secretary; and another year may elapse, according to the Act, before printed abstracts are laid before Parliament. The only particulars therefore that have been known are, that 30,000 enumerators were employed, acting under 2,190 registrars, and 624 superintendents. It is a gratifying fact that the estimates of the number of papers required for educational returns was much below what was required, both in England and Scotland. The number of forms for day-schools sent to Glasgow, for example, at first was 800, for adult evening schools 200, and the same number for Sunday-schools; but it was found necessary to increase the number for day-schools to 1,500, for adult evening schools to 800, and for Sunday-schools to 1,000.

**THE FRENCH REFUGEES** now in London have put forth a manifesto—signed by Ledru Rollin and twenty-seven others—declaring that they are basely calumniated in having attributed to them violent designs. They conclude:—"The world will never believe that men the very first act of whose advent to power was the destruction of the scaffold—men who accomplished a great revolution without shedding a single drop of blood, without committing an act of violence, without imprisonment, and without confiscation—the world will never believe that we are assassins or incendiaries."

## NATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY REFORM ASSOCIATION.

## MR. MIAULL'S LECTURE.

The third of the attractive monthly soirees of this Association was held on Monday evening, at the London Tavern; Mr. E. Miall being the lecturer of the evening, and the subject, "The Franchise as an instrument of the People's training." The company began to assemble, as before, at half-past 5, and after partaking of tea and coffee, filled the large room. In front of the platform were a number of ladies; but the other sex bore a larger proportion than usually on these occasions. Among the gentlemen present we observed, beside Sir Joshua Walmsley, President of the Association, and Chairman, Sir F. Knowles, R. Le Blond, Esq., D. Tanner, Esq., Ebenezer Clarke, Esq., Wm. Thwaites, Esq., Pasmore Edwards, Esq., Dr. Oxley, Dr. Hutton, J. Soul, Esq., &c. &c. Sir Joshua, on taking the chair, was received with loud cheers, which were renewed and prolonged on the appearance of Mr. Miall. The Chairman's introductory speech briefly exhibited the principles and objects of the Association in the light of passing events; reiterating and adopting Lord Stanley's declaration, that "it is for the country to decide in whom it has confidence and what policy it will support." He concluded by introducing Mr. Miall, amidst great applause. The following is a slightly abridged report of the lecture:—

The subject upon which I have undertaken to address you is "The Franchise considered as an instrument of the People's training." Perhaps it will serve to keep a clear look-out as we go along, if the precise drift of my succeeding remarks be indicated somewhat more fully. Take the people of any country—give to every one of them an equal elementary power in the management of public affairs, limiting the legal exercise of that power by natural hindrances only—let each man arrived at his majority have a vote for his representative in the council of the nation, not in virtue of his position in society, nor his possession of property, but of his manhood. I say, a people thus enfranchised are in a position the most favorable, politically, for the formation of their character—social, intellectual, political, and moral. In other words, would you have an orderly, an intelligent, and patriotic people—a people observant of the moralities of life?—give them all, and every one, a vote, and you help to make them so. I do not mean, of course, that you have nothing to do but this, or that this result must necessarily follow—but I do mean that the plastic influence you bring to bear upon a people by giving them an equal voice in the making of their laws, is beneficial in kind, salutary in tendency, and potent in working.

The first thought which, as constituting the ground of all the rest, I shall dwell upon awhile, is, that national character is a growth, not a manufacture. It is evolved, not made. All public arrangements which proceed in forgetfulness of this, are a mistake, and oftentimes worse. A people cannot be drilled into virtue. Human nature in the aggregate does not differ essentially from human nature in the individual. Man's will can never be effectually governed but through his affections—men's authority can never bind him to good—to all that is worthy of his pursuit; he must be led, he cannot be driven. You are no more able to fashion him, however you may fashion his external conduct, by the force of law, than you can change the nature of the lower animals by constant discipline. His inner self will mock your authority even whilst his outward act does homage to it—and in revenge of every attempt to overbear its independence, will cling all the closer to the objects it is commanded to surrender. And such as man is individually, such is a nation of men—a people. You may harass, restrain, protect them, by simple authority—but by no such power can you raise their nature, or dignify their character. That is emphatically a work which none can do but themselves. Government may destroy a people's motives, and a people's opportunities for self-development and culture, or it may secure to them both—but it cannot do more. There is a philosophy in the present day which I cannot characterise by an apter description than the philosophy of the stick [laughter]. There are men, to whose powers of intellect I delight to offer my tribute of admiration even when I most decisively repudiate their principles, who are constantly yearning for the advent of some "coming man"—some great one, who shall, in the true sense of the word, govern the people, and by the light of his genius, and the power of his will, reduce social chaos to order. These philosophers laugh at equal representation, ballot-boxes, annual parliaments, and so forth, as the dumb idols of popular ignorance, worshipped with blind veneration, but unable to stir a finger for the people's welfare. What will these rude, mechanical contrivances, they ask, do to better the multitude? What wisdom can these elicit from them beyond that which is already in them? One Oliver Cromwell, cherishing a godlike purpose, and pursuing it with an indomitable energy—one hero, large in heart, keen of eye, and powerful of hand, would do more in ten years to make this nation what it might and should be, than all your vulgar *nostrums* could do in a century. All this appears to me to originate in a radical misinterpretation of what I should call Providential method in carrying forward the destinies of humanity. Neither greatness nor goodness is to be brought to a people, but must be elicited from them. They are not importations—they cannot be—they must be indigenous. Look at that turbid fluid, in which what is pure is mingled so inextricably with what is impure, that it would seem impossible to clarify it. All the hydraulic pressure in the universe will not accomplish it—nay! more, there is no aptitude in the pressure to produce the refinement. But, if you know anything of Nature's mode of operation, you try to produce fermentation—and confine your further superintendence to the keeping up of those conditions which are most favourable to its rapidity or continuance, certain that, under such circumstances, the opaque fluid will clarify itself [cheers]. I look at humanity in this light. It holds in solution, or partial solution, an immense deal of moral scum, which these philosophers are trying to get rid of by external authority, or hydraulic pressure, and they appear to wonder that their system succeeds so ill, and call for more power [laughter and cheers]. What you want is fermentation, which Truth alone is capable of producing. Give but that element—

let mind set upon mind, and heart upon heart—and do you limit your authoritative meddling to the purpose of securing the freest possible interaction of the component particles of society—and the result will be gradual but ever-constant amelioration. This is a kind of progress infinitely preferable to anything to be produced by the sway of giant rulers. Heroes, in the modern significance of that term, are like stars in more senses than one. They are brilliant chiefly because the heavens are dark [cheers]. Where the "masses" are enlightened and free, heroism ceases. True national superiority is to be sought, not in the vigorous, or even the just, government of the many by the excelling and transcendent one—but in the wide capacity of the many for self-government, and the wise exercise of that capacity by each.

Whilst some call for great statesmen, I am more anxious that we should not need them. As national wealth does not consist in the having a score or so of Leviathan capitalists, but in the general distribution of the means of comfort, so I think that nation most to be envied, which has its wealth of statesmanship, not in a few extraordinary specimens, but in the general good sense, right feeling, and sound patriotism [loud cheers]. It has been the rule for the few who possess the most powerful elements of influence—money, rank, education, and the like—to monopolize to themselves also political power. Their deeds and doctrines may be thus translated—"You, the people, are not qualified to manage your own public affairs, and, hence, we shall do it for you. When you have grown as rich, respectable, and wise as we, we shall not object to take you into partnership" [laughter and cheers]. Passing by the monstrous assumption implied in all this, is it not very like counsellors never to go into the water till they can swim? Suppose our Saxon forefathers had acted on this plan! Suppose that they had never given us those forms of local self-government which we now a highly and so justly prize! Should we have been, in social and political respects, so advanced a people as we are? "Ah!" replied some believer in the exclusive system, "but our superiority over other nations in the use of our liberties is the result of our long training." Precisely so—but the privilege was not given because of the training, but the training grew out of the possession and exercise of the privilege [cheers]. Would you fit a man for the right use of the franchise? give it him, and let him accustom himself to the exercise of it. Would you train him up to wise and honourable citizenship? make him a citizen, and let him learn by trial to develop the highest virtues of that condition. Whips, flogscaps, and blackholes, are being banished from our seminaries—even maniacs are managed most successfully without manacles or even strait-waistcoats. When will political rulers learn that such as they sow, such also they will reap? Want you magnanimity in others? show magnanimity towards them. Would you have a people worthy of being trusted? Trust them, implicitly. Pay them honour, and they will repay it tenfold. The worst guardian of our institutions is suspicion. The surest parent of discontent is disrespect. This is the kind of political training which the people stand in most need of—and this training, the franchise would be a potent instrument to help forward.

Let me, then, in the first instance, beg your attention to the influence of the franchise in begetting and fostering a sentiment of self-respect. The extension of equal political rights would render to manhood the honour which is its due. Of all modes of dealing with human nature, that is the most irresistible which reminds it of its own dignity. There is in man an inward consciousness of worth, not individual, but generic, which, however it may be given to slumber, is almost invariably awakened by the show of sincere reverence. What susceptibilities lie buried in the bosom even of the most degraded! What high-wrought sympathies! What glorious powers! There is nothing deep which we search into, nothing excellent which we feel, nothing heroic which we attempt, nothing great and praiseworthy which we do, which the poorest, meanest, most wretched outcast of us all might not search into, feel, attempt, and effect. Do homage, as becomes a fellow-mortal, to the imprint of divinity still visible upon his soul—remind him of his true dignity by gently and reverentially appealing to the higher attributes of his nature—and be sure some "touches of kin" will show themselves. A new life will quicken in that man's heart. Thereupon you have paid him will apply the match to a train of new aspirations. You have done a good thing—you have laid a broad foundation of character—wherever you have succeeded in evoking this appreciation of the dignity of our common manhood. Make a people practically sensible of their own worth, and you put them at once on the high road to improvement. Surely, if our philosophers were wise, our statesmen sagacious, they would aim at recognising the essential nobility of man as man, instead of paying exclusive homage to that about him which is merely adventitious—and, in place of proclaiming in all their speculations and arrangements a rooted distrust of his capacities, his sympathies, and his will, they would endeavour to awaken up in his soul higher aspirations, and, by the strong attraction of a generous trust, draw him imperceptibly into those spheres of feeling, conduct, and habit, which are best suited to the healthful development of his virtues. It appears to me undeniable that a fair and equal distribution of political rights would have a tendency to produce this effect. No people can be habitually mindful of what is due from them to their common nature, amongst whom there exists, whether socially or politically, a slave class. I call that "a slave class" whose obedience is enforced to the will of their fellows, in matters about which, although equally interested, they are never consulted—who are denied rights which others enjoy, and who bear burdens which those others think fit to impose upon them. The distinction between those who are free of the constitution and those who are not is pernicious in its influence upon both parties. It makes the ruling few supercilious and overbearing—stimulates their selfishness, and disposes them to corruption. Its influence upon the excluded many is dispiriting, irritating, and debasing. It chills their sentiment of patriotism—keeps alive a sense of injustice—fosters a spirit of faction. It splits society asunder, and leaves between the two divisions of its yawning chasm, into which both are but too apt to throw their kindness and good-will. Worthy of all honour is he who is attempting to bridge over that gulf between class and class, and a good work will he have achieved when he has accomplished it! A still happier day will that be when that gulf is effectually closed, and no artificial line shall separate the members of the same commonwealth!

[cheers.] Not till then will the people possess that thorough consciousness of the dignity of manhood, which will fairly lay them open to all better influences. Never till then will they be as susceptible of impression as they might be, from the wise counsels, the kindly guidance, and the persuasive reason of such as wish them well! It is not chiefly for the sake of what they will get by means of the franchise, that I care for its extension to the people generally—but for the sake of what they will probably be as the possessors of it—or rather, perhaps, of what they will cease to be [cheers]—political outcasts, constitutional Pariahs, slaves in the land of the free—in the language of Bishop Horace, "having nothing to do with the laws but to obey them."

Permit me to point your attention, in the next place, to the influence which an equal distribution of the franchise would exert upon the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge—in other words, of popular intelligence. If I mention the question of national education, upon which it is well known I entertain opinions at variance with those held by many of your members—not, however, as to its eminent desirableness, but merely as to the agency by which it is to be brought about—I do so that I may declare my conviction, that whatever agency be resorted to, no stroke of policy will give such a powerful and lasting impulse to the mental culture of the people, as the free extension to them of the franchise [loud cheers]. It will operate in two ways—it will create a thirst for information, and it will prompt to the fullest communication of it possible. I have no doubt that under any conceivable arrangement, as now, there will always be a number of individuals to whom the possession of a vote will be a matter of indifference—although I may remark that the proportion will always be much larger under an unfair distribution of the suffrage than under one that is fair and equal—a position which I cannot stay now to reason out, but which, I may say, I have reasoned out to my own satisfaction! We all take a livelier interest in what we regard as our own. When every man feels that he can act directly, by the extent of his vote, upon the State-policy of the country, and that great public questions will be ultimately decided at the various polling-booths, he will regard what is said and done in the House of Commons very differently from the light in which it presents itself to him as one of the unenfranchised. There will be some curiosity to know what course has been adopted by his own representative, and some desire to understand his reasons. There will be additional interest in the question under discussion, and a stronger wish than now to learn what can be learnt about it. Inability to read will be felt as a privation, which—if believed to be irremediable in his own case—every citizen will be disposed to avoid entailing on his children. But, it will be said, this intellectual awakening will be limited to political questions. I reply, that a consideration of political topics must needs stimulate into exercise both the intellectual and moral faculties. I venture the further observation that it is contrary to all experience that mind, when once roused to exercise its powers, should confine that exercise within the narrow limits in which they were first put forth. But this is not all. Think you that if great public questions were known to be at the final disposal of the majority of the people, there would not be an increased exertion by all parties to supply the people with information? Would not our most Conservative statesmen, would not the most timid Chancellor of the Exchequer, discern at once the absolute necessity of repealing all taxes on knowledge? [cheers.] I verily believe that there would be a most active competition to influence the judgment of the more numerous class, and that the struggle of party, instead of being, as now, to debase and corrupt, would be to inform and persuade. We should not be long without a newspaper press accessible to all, and equally adapted to enlighten and guide the working-classes, as are the journals of the day to exert similar influence upon tradesmen and gentry. And I think a very considerable increase would be made to the class contemptuously designated by modern philosophy as "stump orators." And, spite of the sneers to which I expose myself in certain quarters for saying so, I venture to assert that such an increase will be an advantage—not unmixed with evil, but in which evil will be exceeded by good. We can conceive it to be very natural that the philosopher should look down from his heights of speculation, or glance out from his sublimities of thought, and scowl contempt upon the "stump orator." And truly, most men of education will see in the effusions of this class very much that is prompted by a restless vanity, characterised by execrable taste, and conducive to questionable, or even pernicious ends. But in these respects, they do not always, do not necessarily, differ from the philosophers who despise them [laughter]. But come, now! Let us eschew all that is canting and snobbish [laughter and cheers], philosophic as well as vulgar, and look on men and things as they are. The class it is now so much the fashion to ridicule, if they do not sweep the hill-tops of society with pure and refreshing breezes, are found in low, swampy, and stagnant places, doing their little in dissipating that worst of evils—intellectual inertness. I take it, that he who leaves an idea where he found none, whether he does it by the living voice, or by the printing-press, does something towards the propagation of intellectual life. And if there be classes of society that can only be reached by stump oratory, can be got to think and feel on topics a little above the merely animal only by addresses which to a critic's eye are stuffed with balderdash, why then society may be thankful for the balderdash [cheers], for, at least, it has a tendency to retard, possibly to prevent, mental putrefaction. Eighteen hundred and fifty years ago, a very considerable change, for the better, as some of us think, was helped forward not a little by this much despised practice—and I will be bold to predict that upon the mass of the people of this country, greater, better and more permanent results will hereafter be found to have originated in the labours of stump orators, than in the grander attempts of those who would smear them down [cheers]. Be this as it may. I have no doubt that an equal distribution of the franchise will greatly multiply this species of effort towards enlightening and swaying the humbler classes.

Lastly, I notice the power which a just distribution of the franchise would bring to bear upon the consolidation of society—the effacement of class distinctions, and the fusion of all ranks into one harmonious body politic. The widest extension of the suffrage, it will be said, will do nothing to heal existing estrangements. It will merely change the seat of

supreme power. Then, as now, there will be a middle-class, and a working-class, but the former will be at the mercy of the latter, in consequence of their immense superiority in point of numbers. A few words may suffice to dissipate this notion. We are very apt to mystify ourselves with the idea of numbers, as attaching to the unenfranchised, as if because they are numerous, they must of necessity also possess an identity of interest, and a unity of purpose. Why there is as great a diversity of talents, tendencies, tastes, pursuits, hopes, fears, amongst those now excluded from the pale of the constitution, as amongst those admitted into it. If it be said that the working men as such hang together, we reply that this is the consequence of drawing an artificial line between the privileged and the unprivileged. A common degradation gives to the working men a community of interests [cheers]. Not because they are working men do they now act more in unison than others, but because they are unrepresented men. If there be unity amongst them now, it is unity produced by the hard frost of political exclusion. Put an end to that exclusion, and there will be found amongst the masses as much individuality of character and mind as can be met with elsewhere. History has never yet recorded a single instance of a majority of the people agreeing for any length of time in political feeling, not produced by the pressure of injustice. Hot passion may sometimes hurry on a multitude into a hasty insurrection—but a cool, deliberate, persevering, legislative attempt by a majority of a nation to inflict injury upon the minority, is as contradictory of human nature, as it is libellous of the class respecting whom it is surmised [cheers]. Put all men upon the same level in respect of constitutional right, and intellect, wealth, station, and character, will wield an ampler power over the great mass of our countrymen, than it is possible for them to do now. Parched up with an inward sense of wrong, men may seem indifferent to every show of kindness which does not go the length of relieving them from that wrong. But restore them to their rightful position, and kindness will touch the chords of their affection. Down through innumerable channels, thought and feeling would flow from the higher places of society, and, unchecked, would gradually and insensibly diffuse themselves over the whole surface. Class distinctions would speedily be obliterated, for the lines which separate one large body of men from another are artificial, not natural. Diversity of opinion and sentiment would, of course, continue, but that diversity would no longer run parallel with the limits of *caste*. One element of bitterness would be eliminated from society—one prolific cause of dissension and mutual exasperation. Who can pretend to estimate the moral importance of such a result? Who can foresee the further ameliorations to which it might conduce?

I am a firm believer, then, in the position, that a people's elevation is to be sought in that species of training which affords them the best opportunity for feeling, displaying, and proving, their own manhood. Three-fourths of the political, and a large proportion of the social, evils which afflict this country, may be set down as produced by the vain attempt to make people what, if not harassed by restrictions and goaded by penalties, they would cheerfully make *themselves* [cheers]. If we have much to complain of in the temper of our working classes—if good government has anything whatever to fear at their hands—if at times they are unreasonable in their expectations, or violent in their counsels and proceedings—we have ourselves to thank for it. What other class, treated as they have been, would not have exhibited similar or worse results? [hear, hear.] We have ostracised them—and we wonder that they are suspicious. We have assumed to drive them—and we complain that they make the driving of them a work of such immense difficulty. If they have occasionally become troublesome, we have flung them a trifling boon, and taxed them with ingratitude for not accepting it with thanks. I admire the working people of Great Britain for the patience, and I honour them for the impatience, they have displayed under this long course of mistaken treatment. Mistaken it is, utterly mistaken, unless all our knowledge and experience of human nature be a lie. It is not thus that we can train up a magnanimous and virtuous population. It is not by playing on their fears. It is not by holding up to them the rod. It is not by teaching them to forget their own manhood. It is not by coercing them into external order. "It's a shame to tell Arnold a lie," was the prevailing sentiment of that good man's pupils, "because he so entirely believes us." This is the sort of training for a people [cheers]. Put them as much as possible upon their own sense of right—welcome them to fellowship with you—deal with them as men who have consciences, and feelings, and aspirations—throw them upon their honour—show faith in their good sense—trust your interests in their hands—do this sincerely, habitually, and in all circumstances—and, I say, that you may give your fears to the winds. The great majority of them would spurn to take a selfish advantage of your generous confidence, and would sacrifice their all rather than see your justice abused to your own hurt. Let us not despond—a better day is dawning! "That which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away." Throughout Europe, the system of restriction and coercion is exhibiting signs of giving way. Samson does but quietly nourish the locks in which lies his great strength. How much better, how much nobler, to loose those bonds at once, and pour oil and wine into the wounds they have made! I hope, and I believe, that the ruling class of this country will eventually see the mistake of their present plan of exclusion, and rectify it—not all at once, it may be—but gradually and surely. A higher system of government, however slowly, must be developed—one that relies less on laws and more on principles—less on force and more on sympathy. Quite long enough has man been treated as some wild beast, safe only when securely caged. Happily, that is now becoming more and more impracticable. Safety will have to be sought by some better method than this—and where will it be found?—In the affectionate attachment of contented citizens. Would you elicit this attachment? Would you train up a people to nurture and exhibit it? Be just to them! Confide in them! Give them as their right—the Franchise [great and prolonged applause].

Mr. R. Le Blond proposed, Mr. Ebenezer Clarke seconded, and Sir Francis Knowles supported, a motion thanking Mr. Miall for his "elaborate and highly interesting" lecture, and affirming the general principles of the movement. A gentleman lately returned from America remarked that the

lecture was erudite and eloquent, but rather philosophical than practical, went on to make some remarks which the meeting deemed not pertinent to the subject, however practical. The resolution was carried unanimously, and the meeting broke up, after the announcement that the next lecture would be delivered by Mr. J. C. Bunting, the "Norwich Operative."

#### BANQUET TO LORD STANLEY.

A grand Protectionist demonstration, in the form of a banquet to Lord Stanley, was made in the hall of the Merchant Tailors' Company, Threadneedle-street, on Wednesday evening. The large hall was brilliantly illuminated on the occasion, and the display of gold and silver plate, with the other appendages of luxury, was equal to what took place in the same hall, at the grand demonstration in honour of Sir Robert Peel, in 1838. The requisition to his lordship had been signed by 5 dukes, 8 marquises, 56 earls, 9 viscounts, 38 barons, and 199 members of the House of Commons, nearly all of whom were present. The requisition to Sir Robert Peel, in 1838, was signed by 313 M.P.'s. Mr. Baring, M.P., who occupied the chair, proposed the usual routine toasts, none of which called forth any remarkable speech, except "The Church," which was acknowledged by Lord Hereford, there being no clergyman present. He assured the company that the great majority of the Church looked most anxiously to the sentiments that would be uttered that evening.

Lord Stanley, in the outset of his speech, referred to the dinner given to Sir Robert Peel, thirteen years ago, but reminded his friends that, strong as the Conservative party was in 1838, they were not able to drive the Whigs from office till 1841, when the general election gave "a majority of ninety-one in favour of a constitutional, Conservative, and Protectionist policy." From that time up till 1846, he gave his aid to Sir Robert Peel, in his "wise and judicious relaxation of the commercial tariff." As for the repeal of the corn-laws, and the other great measures carried by Sir Robert Peel, he would "draw a veil over that unhappy period," and the events which ended in the dislocation and final separation, he feared, of the great Conservative party. After paying a tribute of praise to the memory of Lord George Bentinck, he said—

The great question which all classes are now beginning to ask is that which with marvellous foresight the Duke of Wellington long since put—How is the Queen's Government to be carried on? You know well, my lords and gentlemen, the state of parties—you know that in the House of Commons we are a large minority indeed, but we have a considerable majority against us; and I confess that, constituted as the present House of Commons is, I see no escape from the position in which we are placed, whoever may hold the reins of power. The position of a weak Government, menaced by a majority who cannot combine for any useful purpose, but who can combine to destroy the aims of the Government—I hold that such a position is dangerous to the State—that it may be fatal to the public welfare when the Government of the day is obliged to catch at support here, and to angle for a stray vote there, and to concede this point, to waive that measure, and vaguely to promise distant schemes—[vehement cheering which drowned the remainder of the sentence]—and, in the hope of staving off an adverse motion from its own supporters, issuing an illegal commission to inquire into the Universities, while they dare not bring forward any determinate motion. That is a situation in which a weak Government is placed, and that is the situation of the present House of Commons with respect to any Government which may hold the reins of power for any considerable time to come. The remedy is in the country alone. This great nation will not long halt between two opinions; the country will show in whom they will confide, and what is the policy they are determined to support.

He then took up the question of national prosperity, as affirmed by Ministers, and pointed to evidences of distress on every side. Farmers paying their labourers, not out of profits, but out of capital; tens of thousands of industrious men, women, and children, flying from their homes and transporting their industry and capital to a foreign and a rival country; the great falling off in the tonnage of British shipping, and a corresponding increase in that of foreigners, in our own ports; a reduction of 100,000 bales in the quantity of cotton consumed last year, as compared with 1846, notwithstanding the great increase in the quantity of cotton goods exported, and the not less significant fact that the total amount liable for the income tax on trades and professions, which had increased from £34,000,000 to £60,000,000 between 1814 and 1843, had decreased from £60,000,700 in 1847 to £54,800,000 in 1850:—

"We are now in the pursuit of cheapness, and nothing but cheapness. And we forget that in making all articles cheap, we benefit one, and only one class of consumers—those who produce nothing themselves, but who have the advantage to possess a fixed monied income. We are raising the value of money, and enhancing the heavy and pressing burdens of the National Debt, which no other country could support; and increasing the pressure of those taxes, which, however they may be diminished, are borne with increasing difficulty by the community whose capital is constantly decreasing [loud cheers]. While this depression has been caused by hasty and ill-considered and violent changes, true principle and statesmanship points not to a hasty reversal of all that has been done, but to check the downward course of that policy, to watch the symptoms which have taken place, to modify the effect of those measures which have had greater consequences than ever their authors contemplated; and prudently, discreetly, but, at the same time, firmly and determinedly, to apply legislative relief to those whom our legislative action has injured.

In conclusion, he adverted to the Papal aggression

question, and stated—in much the same terms as he did in the House of Lords—the course which he would have taken had he been in power. What he deprecated was hasty legislation on so grave a subject. He would have proposed a measure which would secure and extend the civil rights of the Roman Catholic, while it would secure to this country "the independence of its temporal concerns from the control of any spiritual hierarchy, or from subjection to any foreign pontiff." He knew nothing as to what course Government intended to pursue. This he did know, however, that—

In introducing this measure Lord John Russell laid a basis broad enough for an Egyptian pyramid, wide enough to repeal not only the act of 1829, but to renew the penal code; that upon this mighty foundation a superstructure was reared of microscopic dimensions, a superstructure which has excited contempt not unmixed with irritation; and that microscopic as the measure was at first, it is now to be more microscopic still.

Nothing more definite was stated by his lordship as to what course he would pursue, were he to become Prime Minister, than that he would "go steadily forward in the path of well-considered improvement, offer a bold front to revolutionary changes in this country, increase the stability of the Church, the security of our Protestant establishments, and promote the happiness of all classes."

Mr. Walpole, M.P., proposed, "The Duke of Richmond and the House of Lords." The Duke, in returning thanks, praised Lord Stanley as "a good husband, a fond father, and a tried friend; and those qualifications were worth a host of men who spent their time in poring over blue books."

Lord Stanley, in giving the next toast—"The House of Commons"—said, if it would not be thought invidious, he would join with the toast the name of his honourable friend on the left—Mr. Disraeli; whose talents for conducting a party had been proved on many a well-fought field; and whose wit, ability, and eloquence, were the admiration of his friends and the terror of his enemies [loud cheers and laughter].

Mr. Disraeli, in returning thanks, confined himself chiefly to a description of the position which the Protection party held in the House, and an eulogium upon the British constitution:—

The chief duty of the party of which they were members, both in the House of Commons and without its walls, was to support those institutions of the country which embodied the great principles of power and protection, of justice and of order, of liberty and religion [hear]. If there were no longer in England that sympathy with those institutions which had made England great, they would fail in one of the noblest causes which had interested the feelings of men, and if they succeeded they would fulfil one of the noblest duties that could fall to the lot of the subjects of any state [loud cheers].

**ALARMING FIRE IN THE CITY.**—A fire of a very alarming character—which would inevitably have been attended with the loss of several lives but for the prompt attendance of the public fire escapes—broke out shortly before 4 o'clock on Thursday morning, on the premises of Messrs. Gordon and Son, seedmen, at the corner of Rood-lane. The police were the first to raise an alarm, their attention having been drawn to smoke issuing from the fan-light shop door. One of the men got upon the other's shoulders, and looking through the fan-light, could perceive a great light at the furthermost end of the warehouse. With some difficulty Mr. Gordon and the domestics succeeded in gaining the street, and soon after the engines coming up, no time was lost in bringing them into operation against the portion of the premises on fire. While the firemen were so engaged, piercing shrieks attracted their attention, and it was discovered that the fire had burnt its way into an adjoining house, in the occupation of Mr. Silverlock. Already had the flames possession of the staircase, and the occupier, with his wife, family, and domestics, were at the third floor window supplicating the firemen and bystanders to rescue them from a horrible death. The police obtained jumping escapes—large canvas sheets for parties to throw themselves in—but the great height appeared to terrify them to that degree, that they remained and must have speedily sunk from the overpowering smoke, but for the arrival of the public escape from Aldgate. This was immediately placed against the building, and the conductor, by the aid of an additional ladder, contrived to gain the window where the family were, and rescued the whole of them. The cause of the fire was traced to a flue in Mr. Gordon's premises having been blocked up. Both parties were insured.

**THE BALLOON VOYAGE ACROSS THE CHANNEL.**—Mr. Green relates that himself and the Duke of Brunswick left the earth, at Hastings, at half-past one o'clock p.m., and reached the French shore at six o'clock, having been five hours and a half over the sea. Their descent was easy, and they landed about ten miles south-west of Boulogne-sur-Mer, near the village of Neufchâtel.

**TAKING THE CENSUS.**—A schedule was handed to a house in the neighbourhood of Wooler. Among the members composing the household was an infant two or three months old, which was duly entered—the name, age, &c.; but on coming to the column "Deaf and Dumb, or Blind," a consultation took place how to enter it. They thought it was not deaf, as it appeared to hear well enough; it was not blind, as it appeared to observe objects well enough; therefore, it was entered dumb. But, after considering for some time, it was thought and proved not to be dumb, as it frequently gave token otherwise, making a deal of noise—more than was wished for at times. So it was thought better to have it altered and put,—"Not dumb, but can't speak."—*Berwick Advertiser*.

## FOREIGN AND COLONIAL NEWS.

## FRANCE.

After the break-down of his negotiations with Odilon Barrot, the President turned again to Barroche; and failing there, a mixed cabinet of the friends of Thiers and Barrot was reported to have been on the point of construction. The journals every morning announce, "All is settled," and in the evening, "All is broken off." Barrot's friends now declare that, as far as they are concerned, the attempts of the President to form a cabinet were never serious. Their terms were never clearly asked, nor did the negotiations fail on any important question of policy. It appeared, they say, as if the President's object was not to form a new Ministry, but to have it in his power to declare to the country that he had attempted to do so and failed. The Legitimists and Reds are the only parties untried; and as both have insurmountable objections to Napoleon's *sine gud non*, a prolongation of his powers, combination with them is impossible. M. Pascal Duprat proposed to the Assembly making it a penal offence to support any candidature for the presidency of the Republic contrary to the Constitution, and that all electoral tickets inscribed with the name of such a candidate should be torn up.

A meeting of a number of officers of the National Guard of Paris was held a few days ago, at the house of General Cavaignac. The question was then discussed as to whether the "Red" officers of the civic forces should resign in compliance with the advice of their exiled friends in London. The ex-Colonel of the 6th Legion, who was acquitted by the High Court of Versailles in the affair of the 13th of June, 1849, advocated the view taken by the London Committee; but after a speech from Colonel Charras, the meeting decided that the officers should retain their epaulettes, protesting, at the same time, against the adjournment of the elections. Colonel Charras offered to lay their protest before the Assembly. Another question brought before the meeting was the important one of the candidature to the Presidency of the Republic. The prevailing feeling was to oppose in every possible way the Prince de Joinville. As to the Democratic candidate, opinion was not equally unanimous. General Cavaignac had a good many supporters, but so also had M. Francis Arago; and the question was left undecided.

The Assembly has been engaged on the second reading of the Sugar Bill. M. Eugene Sue has been elected president of the second committee in preference to the Due de Broglie, by 18 votes to 17. In the committee on the Municipal Bill, the Legitimists and the Left proposed that the mayors should be chosen by the Municipal Councils. The Government desired to leave their appointment in the hands of the executive. The latter proposition was thrown out by a large majority, and it was decided that mayors should be appointed by election—whether by the Municipal Councils or the citizens is a future question.

## GERMANY.

The Frankfort Diet is positively to be re-constructed, and the Dresden Conference are virtually at an end. Prussia has notified her intention of sending a representative to the former body—which will open its sittings on the 16th—and the liberal states follow the leading to which they have impelled her. That Austria will protest is gathered from the recall of Count Thal, and the summoning to Vienna of the Frankfort president. The state of Cassel becomes more and more deplorable. The Elector not long ago rebuked the officers of a regiment for allowing the populace to cheer it; and, being asked how that could be prevented, replied, by ordering the men to strike the people's mouths with their muskets. On the other hand, a jury was lately summoned at Fulda, to try a man accused of having declared, that "the Elector was not worth the rope that would hang him." They found, by a majority of 9 to 3, that the man had uttered the words laid to his charge, and, by a majority of 10 to 2, that he was "not guilty."

A Hamburg paper speaks of a note from Lord Palmerston to the cabinet of Vienna, urging a speedy a retreat as possible of the Austrian troops from Holstein. Prince Schwarzenberg's reply is, we are told, to the effect that England has no business to interfere in the matter, as it lies altogether out of the circle of her interests, and that the Austrian force will not be withdrawn till the position of Holstein in the Bund be, by sufficient guarantees, well secured.

The *Daily News* correspondent sheds the light of recent facts upon the pretended religious liberty of Prussia, which he describes as "worse than a sham."

It is true that there are no laws against atheism or deism, or against believing whatever a man may choose—it is true that learned professors paid by the State continue unmolested to imbue the rising generations with the anti-religious teachings of Hegel and Fichte, and that, in consequence, no country in the world exhibits greater carelessness towards the doctrines of the Christian faith; but the state recognises only three churches—the Roman Catholic, the Jewish, and the Protestant, the latter of which combines the Evangelicals and the Lutherans, or the English High and Low Churches. Every profession of faith not belonging to one of these three is not recognised by the law. The free congregations which sprung up previous to the revolution, and which, according to the constitution, are perfectly legal, their members retaining their civil and national rights, are not paid; and as their meetings come under the denomination of "public meetings," their proceedings are watched with great jealousy. Their prayer-meetings are held under the guardianship of a constable, who can close them when he pleases. Unpleasant as this may be to the members of these several sects, it is nothing whatever in com-

parison to the proceedings against the free congregations in the province of Prussia. Some days ago the consistorial directory, the highest clerical authority in the province, issued a long decree against the illegality of the ministers of the free congregations attempting to perform the sacred offices of the Church. All marriages performed by such persons are declared illegal, and the children resulting therefrom to be illegitimate. The clergymen of the province are ordered to inform the members of the free congregations, and especially of the Baptists, that their teachings are contrary to the directions of the Lord and the law of the Church. The followers of the Baptist persuasion are to be exempted from the holy sacrament, from the ceremony of marriage, and from the office of Godfather at a christening, and from all other offices belonging to the Church, and the public schools connected with the Church. Their bodies, when dead, are not to receive the usual funeral ceremony, nor are their brethren to be permitted to enact their own ceremony within the churchyards. The civil and religious authorities combine to excommunicate all persons whose religious denominations agree with those of the Baptists, the Unitarians, and the Methodists in England. Very little difference, beyond mere form, exists between the Protestant Pietist party, the Kreuzritter, or Junkers, headed in Prussia by Gerlach and Stahl, and the arch-agitators of the Roman Catholics. While the latter have resolved to leave no stone unturned to bring Europe back again to the thralldom in which it was held by the Papal Church previously to the Reformation, the former are exerting themselves in the same direction, without any precise limit to their efforts; in fact, both are fighting in the same cause, though under different banners, and the pietist Protestant is far more to be dreaded than the Catholic. The Gerlachs and Stahls of Germany have much in common with the English Puseyites. The evidence necessary to prove this to its full extent is to be found in the sudden conversion to Romanism of five or six of the highest members of the Kreuzritter or Pietist party in the duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The names of the parties have not been mentioned, but I am told that there is one, if not more, of the Bulow family amongst them. The information of this fact has created a great sensation in those circles in which the interests of Protestantism are watched with zealous affection.

## ITALY.

Decidedly the principal Italian event is the death of the Italian brigand, Il Passatore, who has been shot in an affray with a party of soldiers and gendarmes. The authorities are delighted at having got rid of such a formidable leader, and are in good hopes of exterminating his band—the inhabitants of Romagna are rejoiced at the prospect of being once more able to resume their commercial excursions without being pillaged en route—and the English who have been spending the winter in Rome, and are bound for Venice and Vienna, are congratulating themselves upon the practicability of travelling thither with ladies by the way of Ancona and Bologna. The *Passatore* appears to have acquired that *sobriquet* from his former occupation, which, besides occasional smuggling, was that of a ferryman, called in the northern provinces *passatore*, from passing folks from one side of the river to the other. He was imprisoned some years ago for quarrelling with one of his companions, and whilst handcuffed he was severely beaten by a gendarme, which gave him such a feeling of detestation towards the whole corps, that he swore to murder the first of them he should meet when set at liberty. He put his threat into execution some weeks after by shooting a gendarme whom he found broiling sausages at the door of a roadside wine-shop; and, having thus perpetrated his first crime, he proceeded to the commission of many more, by abandoning his home and living the life of a professed brigand.—A squabble between Mr. Moore, our consul, and the Papal authorities, relative to the injury of a ship in the harbour of Ancona, by an English vessel, is the only political incident.

## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Papers from the Cape up to the 4th of February have arrived, and announce that the British troops have established a communication between Fort Beaufort and King William's Town, and that the hostile Kafirs are, in consequence, much dispirited. The movement was effected by boldly marching through a large tract of the enemy's country, without the loss of a single man. On the night of the 1st of February "a very spirited and successful patrol" was made by a party of thirty horsemen. The same night, about seventy head of cattle were taken by Kafirs from a farm about two miles from Graham's Town. No assistance could be afforded by the authorities, but a party of about twenty-five volunteers started on the next (Sunday) morning in pursuit, which was continued till the next day, without, however, recapturing the cattle or overtaking the marauders, in consequence of the swollen state of the Fish River. Two other "very spirited affairs" are reported. A combined attack was expected to be made on Fort Beaufort on the night of the 5th.

## INDIA.

In the continued absence of political news, there are some pleasing items of social intelligence. A Church mission to the Punjab is projected; the Bombay railways are proceeding rapidly; Mr. Mackay is prosecuting his cotton growing inquiries; law reform is to be attempted; and Sir J. Jejeebhoy has offered to give £40,000 towards the supply of water to Bombay from Salsette. The estimated cost of the latter scheme is altogether £150,000. Government are willing to give £40,000; and thus £70,000 require to be subscribed by the public at large. "Sir J. J.'s name will be handed down to posterity as one of the greatest benefactors of his fellow-men who ever lived." On the other hand, the exposure of defalcations, frauds, misapplication of credits, tampering with ledgers, and other characteristics of Indian money-lending establishments, there termed banks, still go on. The late Nepalese Envoy, Royal,

General Jung Bahadur, has been most joyfully welcomed by his Sovereign and friends at Katmandoo. He refused to perform the rites of hospitality to Lord Grosvenor and some others who had been tempted out to India by the promise of sport on the hills—an uncourteous return for European friendliness; but it is probable that political reasons actuated General Jung's conduct, as it is now known that he has resolutely refused Dr. Hooker permission to botanize throughout Nepal, fearing, probably, lest the learned member of the Linnean Society should act as a spy.

## THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The question of the Hungarian and Polish refugees, without leading to any great complications, causes some embarrassment to the Porte. The Austrian Government insists on the leaders being still detained at Kutaya. The Porte, moved by a sentiment of humanity, as well as by a sense of its dignity and independence, refuses to admit any difference being made amongst the refugees, and declares that it cannot keep the leaders whilst the others are allowed to go free. In addition, the Constantinople journals declare that the Porte only engaged to keep the refugees in the interior of the country during the space of one year, and therefore considers itself now at liberty to act as it pleases.

The islands and shores of the Mediterranean have been severely shaken by subterranean convulsions. The first great shock was felt at Rhodes, on the 23rd ult., occasioning terrible devastation. The fortifications were completely destroyed, and scarcely a house was left without a trace of the calamity. Along the Anatolian shore whole villages have been destroyed, and several even have completely disappeared. At Marmarice, 500 houses were laid prostrate. At Macri, all the stone buildings were knocked down. Two hills have met and swallowed up the village of Meslakjik; and Egendjik, a mountain, fell into the port. At Trebisone (the ancient Trapezus) two smart shocks have been felt. The total casualties are calculated at about 1,000 lives. Our readers will remember that the famous Colossus of Rhodes, one of the seven wonders of the world, was thrown down by an earthquake 234 years B.C., and fifty-six years after its erection, being of the enormous weight of 713,000 lbs. To some such event is no doubt also attributable the extensive magnificent ruins of many cities which exist in Lycia and the valley of the Xanthus, of which Macri is the port, and from whence the British Museum imported the works of art which adorn its saloons.

## AMERICA.

The last arrivals are bare of United States intelligence; their steam-ship "Asia" made, however, the quickest voyage on record. The accounts from Gold Bluff do not confirm the flattering statements which have been made of the mineral wealth of that region. The gold is found among the sand in particles so small that it cannot be separated by the ordinary process of washing.

A shocking massacre was committed on the Chagres river about the last of February. The victims were eleven persons, passengers on board the steam-ship "Empire City," from New York—eight men, two women, and a child. As soon as the facts were known, a public meeting of the American citizens, at Panama, was held, in order to take measures for the apprehension of the murderers. Four persons have been captured, against whom there is supposed to be strong evidence of guilt.

Latest accounts from Central America describe the country as being in a very unsettled condition. The recent defeat of the army of San Salvador by General Carrera, led to the apprehension that he might pursue his progress even to Truxillo. Mr. Chatfield has published a document claiming for the Mosquito King the territory reaching to Truxillo. The blockading of Tigre Island has been abandoned by the English fleet, which has sailed toward Guatimala.

We have accounts from Kingston, Jamaica, to the 14th ult. The cholera was fast disappearing. The north side papers had not recorded a single case, although the disease had appeared in the mountains of Westmoreland.

## FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The *Siecle*, *Peuple de 1850*, and *National*, Paris newspapers, have been sentenced, the first two to 500f. fine each, and the third to 1,000f., for infraction of the law on signatures.

The Prefect of Police in Paris has sent M. de Tourdonnet on a mission to London, to study questions respecting the supply of food to the capital, and especially the freedom of the butchery trade. The Prefect is preparing a new organization of these matters for the city of Paris.

A sale of fifteen bulls, of the Durham race, took place a few days since at the experimental establishment at Pin, in France. The prices obtained varied from 1,050f. to 2,110f.; the average being about 1,524f. for each animal.

M. Sellier, an ex-professor, a landowner, and mayor of an important commune in the department of the Nievre, has just been fined 50f. by the Tribunal of Correctional Police of Clamecy, for having given in the evenings gratuitous lessons in writing and arithmetic to his servants and other persons, ten in number. The law does not allow such teaching without an authorization; and the tribunal intimated that if M. Sellier continued to teach he would subject himself to a sentence of imprisonment.

The heirs of Louis Philippe are about to offer for sale the gallery of modern pictures in the Palais Royal,

The French President has received from the Duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz the notification of the marriage of his son, the Duke George, with the Grand-Duchess Catherine Michailowna of Russia.

The comic poet Villergas, the Iberian Tom Hood, has begun to publish a satirical poem entitled "Comparison between Narvaez and Espartero," in which every "judicial murder" instigated by the former is brought anew to light.

In consequence of a hot altercation in the Spanish Chamber of Deputies a duel took place between Mados and Jose Mora. The former received two severe sabre-cuts, the first of which nearly severed two of his fingers, and the latter gave him a deep gash in the head.

As a public testimony of joy for the re-establishment of the free port at Venice, the municipality of that city placed 12,000 francs at the disposal of H.E. the Cardinal Patriarch of the city and province, for the purpose of being distributed to the poor.

The Papal Government has placed Archbishop Whately's "Logic" in the list of prohibited books.

The Wurtemburg Government has concluded its negotiation with the House of Thurn and Taxis for the cession of its hereditary rights to the postmaster-generalship in certain German lands. The house of Taxis has finally assented, and is to receive 1,300,000 florins compensation.

Princess Augusta of Wurtemburg, third daughter of the reigning King by his second marriage, is about to espouse Prince Hermann of Saxe Weimar, captain in the Wurtemburg Life Guards, and younger brother of Prince Edward, who is in the English Grenadier Guards.

At Berlin, judgment has been passed in favour of Prince Albert's claim to an annual rent of £3,750 out of the estate of the late Duke. On the marriage of Prince Albert with the Queen of England, a family arrangement was made, that in case the reigning Duke of Coburg, who has no children, should die without direct heirs, the second son of Prince Albert shall succeed to the government of the duchy.

Letters from Damascus, of the 13th March, state that some French travellers and a Baron de Rothschild had been attacked by a party of Bedouins, and compelled to pay a ransom of 40,000 piastres.

Three of the ablest and most eminent of the American editors of the last half-century have died within a few days—John S. Skinner, of Philadelphia; Isaac Hill, of New Hampshire; and Mordecai M. Noah, of New York.

A difficulty has arisen between the commander of the French frigate "Serieuse" and the Government of the Sandwich Islands. He demanded the payment of 25,000 dollars as a commutation for customs alleged to have been collected contrary to treaty obligations. The King refused to accede to this claim, and threw himself on the protection of Great Britain and the United States. Upon this the French commander landed his men at Honolulu, and prevented several Hawaiian vessels from proceeding to sea.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, April 9. Two o'clock.

#### PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

A COMMITTEE ON CHURCH-RATES GRANTED.

Mr. TRELAWNY yesterday evening succeeded in bringing on his motion—

That a select committee be appointed to consider the law of church-rates and the difference of practice which exists in various parts of the country in the assessment and levy of such rates; and to report their observations to the House.

Remarking that it was now unnecessary to contend that church-rates were a grievance, since nearly every leader of every party had admitted that they were a serious and substantial grievance to Dissenters—and Lord Stanley was virtually pledged to attempt their abolition if he took office—he reviewed the several plans proposed for redressing the grievance, and finding a substitute—such as Mr. Spring Rice's and Sir Robert Peel's propositions, the one to charge the rates on church lands, and the other to pay them from the Consolidated Fund. He then extracted from an analysis of the two Braintree cases the existing law upon the subject, which armed, he said, a minority with the anomalous and intolerable power of taxing a majority, leaving the Dissenters in a worse plight than formerly, when they were obnoxious to spiritual censures only. This great social evil, he remarked, was a growing one, new rates having been levied under the Church Building Acts. He complained of the means by which church-rates were enforced, in the Ecclesiastical Courts, instead of by a summary civil process; and described, with considerable effect, the hardships of Quakers and others, and the scandalous scenes caused by seizures for ecclesiastical imposts. He did not suggest any specific scheme; various plans might be proposed in the committee, which could select the fittest. Mr. HARDCASTLE seconded the motion. He denied that the abolition of church rates must necessarily lower the social position of the Church of England, while it greatly improved her moral position. He quoted a high Church authority—the report of the subdivision of parishes commissioners, of which commission Lord Ashley, Dr. Hook, Dr. Dale, Mr. Champneys, and Mr. Robert Seeley, were members. "In our opinion," they said, "the present state of the law of church-rates is obscure, vague, defective, and unjust;" and they went on to say that it had been urgently represented to them, and the whole tenor of the report led to the conclusion that they agree in the suggestion—

That the law in its present state inflicts a very serious hardship on the owners of property. In distinct and separate parishes and district parishes, by compelling them for twenty years not only to provide for the expenses of their own church, but to contribute towards repairing the mother church.

Now, this was the case of the Dissenters, in every particular except one, that both the rates were compulsory, whereas no Dissenter was compelled by anything except feeling, to contribute to the repair of his own meeting-house. But as if to clinch the matter, the commissioners went on—

In the case of a chapelry district, cut off from a distinct and separate or district parish, the grievance is still greater; for although the inhabitants, during that period of time, pay a double rate; viz., to the Mother Church and to the distinct and separate or district parish Church, they have generally to provide for the repairs of their own chapel also, by voluntary contributions.

The hon. member continued: I think the question might safely be left in the hands of these commissioners, if they would but be true to the principles they have laid down in their report. They have not, it is true, called the compulsory church-rate an act of persecution, but they have defined a similar tax to be a grievance, and a grievance still greater than one which they denounce as a serious hardship. What the distinction is between a grievance greater than a hardship itself serious, and a religious persecution, I may leave for Mr. Seeley to discuss with the editor of the *Nonconformist*. We have heard much of late of personal and religious liberty. I will not attempt to add my definition, either of the one or of the other, to those numerous, and, as I think, mostly incorrect definitions which have been given here and elsewhere. I will simply observe, that I think the methods in which the State may influence the conduct of individuals in religious matters is twofold—by compelling to do what they think wrong, and prohibiting them from doing what they think right. The first must be always persecution, if it be only sprinkling incense on the altar of Jupiter. As to the second, I am not so clear, for if the state is not to retain some control, I don't see how she is to prevent Roman Catholic processions in the streets of London, or battoes on the Ganges. Whether the compulsory payment of money for a purpose presumed is exactly of a similar nature with the compulsory performance of an order manifestly religious, I will not attempt to determine; but the difference can be but slight. Sir, it matters comparatively little whether this question be set at rest this year or next, in this or a subsequent parliament. What is really of consequence is, that the principles of religious liberty should be clearly and distinctly understood by that great community which has sent us here to represent them; for, when that is the case I have the fullest confidence that those principles will be boldly carried out, and successfully maintained. Lord J. RUSSELL at once rose and said, it seemed to him desirable that some attempt should be made to settle this question, and to improve the law upon the subject; and, thinking that the inquiries of a committee would lead to a great practical good, he should certainly give his assent to the motion. Mr. HUME wished to know if his lordship could not include in the inquiry the Church taxes levied in Edinburgh and Montrose, and which so much disturbed the peace of those cities. Lord J. RUSSELL replied that, as regarded ministers' money, it was desirable that something should be done; but, as regarded Church annuity, he feared it would be impossible to satisfactorily deal with it. Sir ROBERT INGLIS was surprised and he regretted that Ministers assented to the motion. That there were sixty thousand petitioners against church-rates proved nothing against them. They were not founded on injustice, because property was purchased liable to them. When the highest tribunals held the law to be clear, he could not understand why there should be a committee, to which all the plans of all Dissenters would gravitate. He referred to a recent statement by Mr. Bright, that the Friends' meeting-house in Houndsditch, was annually plundered of forty chairs and tables. Now, in the parish of Bishopsgate, tithes were compounded for in 1825 for ever, and it was the dwelling-house attached to the meeting-house from which the seizure was made. Mr. Bright retorted that it made no difference to the Friends whether furniture was taken from their meeting-house or the committee-rooms adjoining, as they knew nothing of the crime of sacrilege. There was a large parish church, frequented by a respectable congregation, to listen to a well-paid minister—opposite was a building raised by voluntary contributions, in which people meet, without any paid minister; yet forty articles of furniture were annually seized from them to make up the £2,000 received by the clergyman of the church over the way. If the law authorizing that act had received the assent of every legislature in Europe, the seizure of those articles would not be the less an inherent aggression. The hon. baronet might get up and talk these things at Oxford, where he believed anything would go down, but no sophistry about houses being bought and sold subject to church-rate would ever induce the people to believe that the infliction of church-rate should be permitted, or that it was a benefit even to the Church itself. The honourable baronet had stated that the law had settled the question; but results demonstrated the contrary—the most eminent lawyers and judges in the land were opposed in their decisions on the question. Why, the fact that a parish minority, consisting of the clerk, the sexton, the grave-digger, and the bell-ringer, meeting together, can do that in a parish which a minority of that House cannot do for the country, was an overturning of every thing which they held to be valuable under the constitution of this kingdom. In his opinion, the church-rate law was like martial law, as explained by the Duke of Wellington the other night; no law at all. It was possible, by an expenditure of some £2,000, to go through the quagmire of the Ecclesiastical Court; but, in the end, it fell out that the suit was generally dropped for want of funds. He was not very sanguine that the committee about to be formed would accomplish all that was required of them; but that was no reason why they should not be appointed. The question was one of only some £250,000 a-year. In Manchester no church-rate had been collected for the last fifteen years. There was what was called an "optional" rate, that was, those paid who liked, and those refused who did not. The great bulk did not like. In the parish in which he (Mr. Bright) resided, there were some 70,000 or 80,000 persons with, he believed, 60 places of Dissenting worship; yet all these parties were expected to pay tax to one parish church. He believed some £700 annually used to be collected, and eaten and drunk, though he never could understand that the Church, was the better for it. The result was, that it fell to £150 a-year, though a great struggle was made, and

as much money was spent in the contest as would, if placed at interest, produce £150 a-year for ever. Were he the hon. baronet opposite, instead of defending such practices, he would endeavour to find if there were not sufficient liberality and conscientiousness amongst Churchmen to induce them to maintain their places of worship without calling on the Dissenters to assist them. If the hon. baronet would only do that, he would be likely to sweep away one of the evils that was undermining the Church Establishment in the minds of the people and strengthening the resolution of most of them to have nothing to do with the Establishment, but rather attach themselves to the Nonconformist body. These were troublesome times for the Church, as speeches and other significant signs demonstrated; and therefore he advised the hon. baronet to "set his house in order." In the event of anything occurring it would be better to be prepared to meet it than to be unprepared by the damaging lumber of the church-rates; and he hoped the committee would, therefore, sift the question, and that, when the report should be brought in, the noble lord at the head of the Ministry, if in office, would not allow it to be shelved. Indeed, whatever Minister might be in power, he would find it beneficial to the interests of the Church to make a clean sweep of all matters which were not alone unjust towards the Dissenters, but materially injurious to the Church itself. Mr. A. B. HORR said his only objection to a voluntary rate was, that it encouraged indifference and Dissent. The committee might do good, but he did not like Parliamentary inquiries into ecclesiastical affairs. Mr. HERWORTH and Mr. LINDWARD supported the motion. Mr. COWAN wished the inquiries of the committee to be extended to Scotland; but Mr. F. MAULS objected to the two subjects, which were distinct, being referred to one committee. The motion was then agreed to.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Lord BROUGHAM made considerable progress in committee with his County Courts Extension Bill. Mr. ELICE, the chairman of the St. Albans Election Committee, obtained a Speaker's warrant against two other absconded witnesses. Mr. HUME got an order for papers relative to the Borneo massacre. Mr. FOX postponed his motion on national secular education till after Easter. Lord ASHLEY obtained leave to bring in a bill to encourage the erection of improved lodgings. His lordship's long and interesting speech we must reserve for our next. Sir W. BAKEN moved that the House go into committee on the state of Ireland. The discussion was almost confined to Irish members, and the motion was negatived by 138 against 129.

#### RETURN OF A RADICAL REFORMER FOR COVENTRY.

A notification will be found in another column, on the authority of the *Daily News*, that the Right Hon. E. STRUTT had been returned for Coventry without opposition. This morning's papers are silent on the matter, but we are informed by two trustworthy correspondents, that on the morning of the nomination (Monday) Alderman GEACH, of Birmingham, a thorough Radical Reformer and Anti-state-churchman—pledged to household suffrage and the ballot, and against any legislative action on Papal aggression—was put up, and went to the poll. The result was triumphant:—

Geach.....	1689
Strutt.....	1091

Majority for Geach..... 578

About one-tenth of the majority, we are told, are Conservatives; but as that deduction would leave a great majority, we may claim a splendid triumph for the Radicals and Nonconformists of Coventry.

THE BIRKENHEAD RIOTS.—A three days' trial, at Chester, of the five Irishmen committed for the riot at Birkenhead, at the time of the anti-Papal excitement, concluded yesterday. They were indicted for having met for an illegal purpose, and proceeded in a riotous manner. Mr. Roebeck defended them, and severely inveighed against the magistrates for insulting the religion of the poor of Birkenhead, and for cowardice in leaving them to fight it out with the police. The jury were absent an hour. "Acquitted" the defendant Brown, and found all the others "Guilty," but recommended them to mercy. The Judge asked the ground of that recommendation. The Foreman (after some hesitation): It seems to be the general wish of the jury. His lordship, in passing sentence, said, he thought it right to say that the conduct of the police on the occasion of the first disturbance, was, in his opinion, not only injudicious, but unjustifiable, by reason of taking too peremptory and too active measures to remove the people from the front of the Town Hall. He was not surprised at this irritating the crowd; still care must be taken that courts of justice did not, under any circumstances, justify a riot, and it was fortunate the injured parties recovered, or the defendants would unquestionably have been tried for murder. His lordship then sentenced three of the prisoners to nine months' imprisonment, and the two others to one year, without hard labour.

THE CONDEMNED TO DEATH.—Notwithstanding that a petition, signed by the whole of the jury, has been forwarded to the Home Secretary, praying for a commutation of the sentence of death passed upon the men who were convicted at the last assizes of the robbery and murder of Mr. Hollest—based upon the strong conviction of the jury that neither of the men, Levi Harwood nor Samuel Jones, fired the shot, but that it was fired by the approver, Hiram Smith—the Times states that Sir George Grey has decided that the law shall take its course, and has ordered both for execution.

THE BOILER EXPLOSION AT STOCKPORT.—After four adjournments, and the examination of several eminent civil engineers, the coroner's jury has returned a verdict strongly censuring the engineer employed, and recommending, "that with a view to guard against imperfect boilers for the future, a certain standard to be adopted—say twice the extent of pressure intended to be applied; and that all boilers be tested and stamped or registered by a responsible and appointed authority prior to their removal from the makers' premises."

#### CORN EXCHANGE, MARK-LANE, Wednesday, April 9, 1851.

There is this week a good supply of Foreign Flour and Foreign Oats, but not much of other grain, and there is but little doing on our market to-day.

Arrivals this week:—Wheat—English, 1,490 qrs.; Foreign, 2,250 qrs. Barley—English, 280 qrs.; Foreign, 600 qrs. Oats—English, 670 qrs.; Irish, 1,050 qrs.; Foreign, 9,000 qrs. Flour—English, 1,530; Foreign, 5,290 sacks.

THE TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION are 26s. per annum, 12s. for the half-year, and 6s. 6d. per quarter. Subscriptions (payable in advance) are received at the Office, 4, Horse Shoe-court, Ludgate-hill. Post-office Orders, &c., payable to Messrs. Miall and Cockshaw.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received several letters expressing earnest hope that some steps will be taken to give expression to the views of those Dissenters who disapprove of legislation in regard to the Papal hierarchy. For the present, we hold them over.

"E. R."—They will arrive at a correcter result by their less inquisitorial method.

"W. Smith," received with thanks.

"Philaethes."—Roman Catholics, about 8,000,000. Protestants of all sects about 800,000.

"J. E. Nelson."—Certainly he did. We cannot specify the date, but it was somewhere about the third or perhaps fourth session of the Reform Parliament.

"A.—"Has no legal claim—supposing the will to be proved.

**ERRATUM.**—In the last sentence of the fourth paragraph of the Ecclesiastical article in our last number, headed, "Time to Speak Out," a few words were omitted which destroyed the sense of the passage. Instead of, "The consequence is, spite of our ingenious and hair-splitting distinctions, that we have no firm reliance on our own distinctive principles," &c., it should read, "they are led to conclude that we have no firm reliance," &c.

## The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1851.

## SUMMARY.

AT length we swing clear, at least for a week or two, of Papal aggression and its long train of consequences. The week over which our retrospect is cast has been, so far as Parliament is concerned, one of legitimate business. Two questions have been prominent in the Commons—reform and finance. A brief account of what has been done under these heads will pretty nearly dispose of Parliamentary topics.

And first of the first, as the old divines were wont to phrase it, we may mention that Sir W. Clay has got his Compound Householders' Bill through committee. We have more than once, we believe, described the object of this bill, which is to prevent the wholesale disfranchisement of tenants by those landlords who pay rates by composition with parochial authorities, and to give compound occupants whose share of rent amounts to £10 a year a right to vote for the borough in which they dwell. The bill, if passed into law, will considerably swell the registers of the larger borough constituencies, and hence may be regarded as a step in the right direction. Mr. Locke King was not equally successful. His former victory scared half his own followers, and brought back the then passive Protectionists to the rescue. The second reading of his County Franchise Bill, therefore, was refused by a large majority. The tone of the debate which preceded this result was in many respects extremely mortifying. Many of the Whig-Radicals, not yet tired of being alternately cajoled and snubbed by Lord John Russell, are disposed to leave the work of Parliamentary Reform exclusively to his care, and regard his pro-missory note for next session as a sufficient excuse for refusing to do anything at present. They are far more confiding in his lordship's serious intentions than experience would warrant—or they are much more alarmed at the prospect of a Stanley administration than are the people out of doors. We fear they have not taken the pains to feel the pulse of their constituents. Had they done so, it is possible they might have learnt that few will thank them for relieving the Whigs of embarrassment, and fewer still will deem them to have acted prudently in again extending help to the Russell Cabinet without having previously exacted definite terms. We have no wish that they should play into the hands of the Protectionists—but we do think that a trifle more of self-respect, and a serious effort to obtain for their general support of the Ministry a substantial *quid pro quo*, would be much more to their credit than the blind reliance they are so prone to place upon Lord John's vague and reluctant promises.

On the subject of finance, there has been just sufficient improvement in the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to save him once more from pitiable failure. His new Budget is an amended edition of the old one. The window-tax is to be surrendered, and an uniform house-tax, of ninepence in the pound, substituted for it. The small boons held out to Protectionists, having been received with contemptuous ingratitude, are withdrawn. This appears to be the sum total of change contemplated by the Chancellor on his former arrangements—and we need hardly say that three weeks or a month is a long time taken for deciding on such small results. But then, the Chancellor made a most courageous speech in defence of his

principles of taxation, and so the House was satisfied. We say satisfied, because on Monday, in spite of the amendment proposed by Mr. Herries, and supported by nearly the whole of the Protectionist party, it affirmed a resolution for the renewal of the Property and Income-tax, without any assurance from Sir C. Wood that the bill founded upon it, when introduced, would exhibit any modification of existing injustice. Something like an intimation has been given that the tax will be retained as a permanent source of revenue—but the Chancellor refused to drop a single hint from which to draw conclusions as to whether the unequal and iniquitous incidence of the tax is to be maintained. Nor, we fear, can much dependence be placed on the House of Commons for compelling the Whig financier to listen, in this instance, to the voice of reason and the country. The majority of our representatives profit by the present arrangement, by which real property and property in *posse* are put upon the same footing. We sincerely hope, nevertheless, that the question will be raised in such a shape as will fairly test their opinions on this head.

Lord John Russell has obtained leave to bring in his Jews bill. It has been reduced to a *minimum*. It proposes to surrender the words "on the faith of a Christian," to which Baron Rothschild objected, on attempting to take his seat last session. The discussion on it, too, was brief and formal—as if, in the House of Commons, more than this would go up to the Lords, by whom, there is little doubt, it will be rejected. What will follow, it must be left for time to reveal. But the entire question seems to have waited very submissively on Whig convenience.

The House of Lords remains still without occupation. Lord Torrington's defence of his administration of affairs at Ceylon is the most prominent topic which the proceedings of their lordships bring before us. As an *ex parte* statement, it is, of course, impossible to found upon it a trustworthy judgment. It will answer its end. It will serve to keep judgment in suspense until public interest in the affair has died away. The next topic relates to the refusal of a clergyman at Chichester to read the burial service over the body of a Dissenting minister, as also over that of a lunatic suicide. The Duke of Richmond brought this forward in a tone of manly indignation, and was replied to by the Bishop of Chichester, who condemned the decision, but praised the clergyman. Ministers of the Establishment, we think, have no right to take their emoluments and then plead conscience for neglecting their duties. But we must say that Dissenters attach a much higher value to the official engagement of clergymen in the burial of their dead than we deem to be consistent with good sense. We are far from desiring to dissociate sepulture from religious observances. But we see no reason for exacting those services from a Church from which we have separated. Surely it is not absolutely necessary to perform them over the actual grave of the departed. In most cases Dissenters might have a funeral service conducted in their own places of worship, previously to laying the body in the churchyard, which might afterwards be done in solemn silence—or if the chapel be not at hand, it might be most becomingly celebrated at the house of mourning, when all the inmates might be present and join. We have yet to learn that it is necessary to pray, preach, or pronounce a benediction over the grave to distinguish the burial of a Christian from that of a dog.

The difficulties in the formation of a definite Ministry in France appear, thus far, to have been insurmountable. For nearly three weeks Paris has been the scene of a Ministerial crisis; but the issue of it has excited but little sensation amongst our usually excitable neighbours. M. Odillon Barrot is the expectant head of the new Cabinet; but the various combinations which he has attempted have at present failed, although he has not absolutely given up the task. It is really creditable to the moral courage of that statesman, that he is willing to take office at a period of trying difficulty, when there is the prospect of stormy debates on the revision of the constitution, and the prolongation of the President's powers. M. Thiers, with whom self has always the first consideration, remains in the background, and has the credit of having spoiled every Ministerial combination at present attempted.

There is now little doubt that Austria as well as Prussia will, if it has not already done so, concur in the re-establishment of the old Frankfort Diet. The minor states have shown great alacrity in appointing representatives to attend its sittings, which were to commence on the 15th inst. Saddening is the intelligence respecting the internal state of Germany. While the Dresden Conferences have been discussing, the various Governments have not been idle in tightening the chains which they have re-imposed on their subjects. The shocking brutality of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel almost disgusts the Prussian Government, but they in their turn are guilty of the most flagrant

violations of religious freedom, as will be seen from the facts detailed elsewhere. To say that such acts violate the constitution is nothing.

"The party of order" on the continent seems to have established for itself an imprescriptible right to violate anything in order to gain its ends. The law of might is the sole rule of statesmanship. A people must not resist—exiles must not plot—but sovereigns may perjure themselves, the solemn provisions of constitutions may be violated, and the "powers that be" may establish a claim to set themselves above all law, human and divine. Disastrous, we fear, will be the retribution which will follow this pernicious policy—a policy which is applauded by not a few English legislators, who affect horror at the "anarchical" schemes of Italian refugees!

Piedmont and Mexico are setting us a good example in their method of dealing with monastic institutions, and afford evidence that even in Roman Catholic countries Papal authority is greatly on the wane. The death of the celebrated Italian brigand Passatore has recalled attention to the social condition of the Papal States. The alarming increase of brigandage in that territory is attributed partly to the tacit sanction of the population, who, to no small extent, reason on the apothegm, "Is not the robber the enemy of our worst enemies?" and partly to the deep-seated distrust of the people by their rulers. To avoid all chance of resistance to authority, the former are deprived of every means of defence, even to the poker in the hearth.

Some later accounts from the Cape of Good Hope have been received, but they are not decisive. They, however, strengthen the belief, that the war with the Kafirs will be protracted, costly, and sanguinary. Sir Charles Wood talks of "six months," and £400,000, as possible measures of the time and cost; but, at present, appearances do not promise a more speedy or less expensive contest than the last. It is said that the Kafirs, not content with rousing their own population, have summoned every coloured tribe to take a share in the war, and with partial success, openly menacing "the white man" with utter extermination. Sir Harry Smith would seem to have adopted a similar policy. Meanwhile we are glad to observe that the cause of the war is likely to be the subject of Parliamentary investigation, and we have very little doubt that the result will prove how much provocation the Kafirs have received from their civilized protectors.

## THE STANLEY BANQUET.

HISTORY often seems to repeat itself by quaint coincidences. Thirteen years ago the festive hall of the Merchant Tailors was the Praetorium whence Peel, at the head of his "strong phalanx," dictated a Conservative policy to his country; on Wednesday it was the appointed gathering-place of a scattered remnant, confident only in the hope of catching some word of comfort from a leader in search at once of policy and popularity. Judging from realities, and not the accident of locality, the two gatherings are therefore rather contrasts than coincidences. On the one occasion it was the muster of a party inspired with the confidence of hope certain; on the other, of a class faction making a last stand on a forlorn hope.

If the chivalrous Stanley is to be hailed as prophet and warrior of an "English party" in the State, he certainly does not speak with the plainness of an English oracle. The "loving cups" of the Tailors' Hall seemed quite as Pythian in their inspiration as the supernatural vapours of the valley of Parnassus. We must endeavour, with the best critical skill at command, to interpret some notion of present Protectionist principles and prospects from the noble lord's vaticinations on corn, Catholics, and constitutionalism—for these were the three leading topics of his oration.

Lord Stanley, in the same breath, proclaims himself a King and no King of Protection. Moved by a prophetic frenzy, he depicted the terrible consequences of free-trade—agricultural distress, shipping and cotton decline, income-tax shortcomings, and other dark results in statistical phantasy. Nevertheless a magical "if" pervaded the whole discourse, from which one may legitimately infer that the champion is neither confident in his position nor his principles. "Watch the progress that has already taken place," quoth the philosopher, "modify the effect of measures, if they have had a greater effect than even their proposers contemplated; and prudently, discreetly, but firmly and determinedly, apply on sound principles legislative relief to those classes which your legislative action has made to suffer. How that relief may be afforded it is not now the time to consider." Protectionist wisdom, for the present, must consist in crying "Halt." When the heroes of the road cried "Stand!" they added in the same breath "Deliver!" The hero of Protection only cries "Halt," with a conclusion to be concluded at a more seasonable opportunity. If we may be permitted to interpret the noble lord's oracular speech, he does not intend to fleece the victim by wholesale, but only by degrees,

"My own views undoubtedly are, that there is no course so simple and effective for removing agricultural distress, and at the same time for returning to a sounder system, as by the imposition (thanks, Lord Stanley, for that word!) of moderate duties on foreign imports." The mystery unfolded is this, Lord Stanley will re-enact a moderate fixed duty—if it be possible. The censor of expediency has now become the apostle of expediency. Between King Peel and King Stanley on Protectionist principle, or for the matter of principle between King Russell too, there is no real radical difference. If Protection, Lord Stanley, is a good thing, why procrastinate the benefit of the whole good? Is this diplomatic concealment of thought the "high principle," "the chivalrous" characteristic of a "manly leader"—the leader of a "national party," on unfurling his banner for a contest for principle? The Stanley revelations at the banquet leave us as much in darkness as to the standard of Protectionist principles as ever we were three months ago.

He speaks less oracularly on the Catholic question. Correcting a misconception of his recent Parliamentary declarations, he repeated that he would have proceeded either by resolution or address, or by a declaratory statute, against the particular aggressive act of the Papal rescript, giving time for a careful and diligent investigation of the whole relations of the Roman Catholic subjects of this country towards the British Crown and the Papal See. As legislation has now proceeded, he will not be satisfied if he does not see that that which the Government professes to make effectual shall be really and substantially effectual. Rendered from rhetoric into plain English, it means this, that Lord Stanley is as much the foe of religious liberty as Lord John Russell, and that he reserves to himself the power in the contingencies of party expediency and circumstances, to embarrass or beat the Government on their last great measure.

Of Lord Stanley's constitutionalism, perhaps the least said the better, as it came forth in a not very dignified allusion to Sir Robert Peel, and unmeasured panegyric of Lord George Bentinck. It abounded with all the *blasé* Tory common-places about sound doctrines of attachment to our Protestant institutions and our Protestant Church, and so forth. We looked for some allusion to other topics—perchance, for some alluring bait for popularity—for some hint, however obscure, some recognition, however faint, that there exists a *people* in England. The noble lord made no sign. The orator of Tailors' Hall, in his appeals to parties and silent contempt of peoples, was not less magniloquent than the tailors of Tooley-street, so famous in story.

So much for this demonstration-exposition of Protectionist principles.

The prospects of the party—as a political party, armed with a policy—are not, we venture to think, much brighter. That the Protectionists calculate on an early possession of the good things of office is tolerably certain; that such a result is not far distant may be asserted with equal truth. Lord Stanley professes to have great faith in "the country." It hardly requires prophetic gifts to see that the miserable Government, which now exists only through sufferance and the incapacity of the ruling caste in the State, cannot indefinitely prolong that degraded existence. The noble lord is not discouraged by a late failure. The demonstration of Tailors' Hall, it would seem, is to be taken as an appeal, not to the people, but to the constituencies:

"I have said (addressing the legislative portion of the audience) that I look with anxiety to the present state of this country. I look also with anxiety to the future: but the degree to which that anxiety may be removed depends upon you in your places in Parliament; it depends upon you in your respective neighbourhoods throughout this country; it depends upon the constituencies of this country; and in their hands, whenever a general election shall come—and all the signs of the times show that that election cannot be far distant—in their hands will be the destinies of this country, for good or for evil, for a length of time which it is impossible to predict."

An early appeal to the country is tolerably certain, and that it will be preceded by a Stanley Ministry is not doubtful, but he would be a dull prophet indeed who could predict any lasting tenure of power by such a party. To begin with the catechism of difficulties—Have the Protectionists surmounted the difficulty of the want of men even moderately qualified to go through the dull routine of red-tape office-craft? Have they already endowed their foremost men—their Disraelis with stability, or their Newdegates and Mannerses with common-sense? Or are they to rely on the wisdom and experience of the Spooners and the Sibthorps? Are they stronger now, or will they be stronger any time within the glorious "year of progress" that was to be—than they were in the famous fourteen days when the Government of England went a begging?

But Lord Stanley relies on the power of public opinion to carry him over the difficulty of official inexperience, and give him breathing-time to drill his men of motley into statesmen. Chivalrous

Lord Stanley! To begin with his own country followers—have they now a programme, so clearly expressed, so well based on the first principles which they entertain on protective policy, that they will unhesitatingly hazard their own interests, and the interests of the country, on a guerrilla war of politics? The farmers of England—let Protectionist orators speak of them as they please, are not such a race of simpletons as to be drawn into a contest the issue of which must be doubtful from the beginning—the end of which cannot be foreseen. The agriculturist will grumble—he has grumbled since man began to till the earth—but he will not go to war; to a warfare with his own interests, on the invitation of an oracle so ambiguous as Lord Stanley. The halting, procrastinating, trimming, and altogether unprincipled expediency-mongering of the noble lord in Merchant Tailors' Hall, ought to go far to still the bucolic mind, by the conviction that the "farmer's friend" lacks the first element of success in political warfare—moral power. As a leading party demonstration it has produced no effect on the public mind. Last, though not least, what shall we say of the great people of England? Will they exchange the blessing of cheap bread, to make Stanley statesman school-master of the fops and bumpkins, who have the cool assurance to aspire to the Government of this country?

Lord Stanley is a bold man, and in his generation a clever one, and it is not impossible that by the merry month of May he may, by virtue of necessity, take Ministerial power. The opportunity may be near at hand; the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill has been read twice by the Commons. That Parliament will accept it may still be an open question. If we might hazard a guess, founded on a careful reading of the Protectionist leader's manifesto, and some rumours of Protectionist intrigues, it is more than probable that a bold Protectionist effort may be made to displace the Whigs on the later stages of the measure. If successful, and it is impossible to doubt success if they were earnest in the effort, they might go to the country in the hope that an ingenious use of the Protestant cry might aid the prevalent forlorn hope of protection. In such an event Lord Stanley might ingeniously carry out his procrastinating policy in legislating on the essentials of Papal aggression. They altogether mistake his chivalrous lordship who imagine that he is the undeviating champion of principle. Give him the reins of power, and he will prove himself to be as much of an expediency statesman as any predecessor since the Revolution.

We have no fear for the ultimate triumph of the great principles of freedom and free-trade. The people of England are now in the crisis of a change from family and class misrule to free government. England has not been ruled by party, but by factions; and faction is in the dotage of decay. It matters not whether Russell or Stanley carry on the routine of government in the transition state of the body politic to sanity:—

"Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur."

Governing parties, and classes, and cliques, in this more refined age, may not have the vulgar venality which was the Ministerial characteristic of last century, when Walpole bought his place by plundering the people to satisfy the avarice and rapacity of George the Second; but party and party Government are still conducted for one end only, the gain of the few. For our own parts we prefer the open enemy to the secret foe. The success of a Tory Government is a contingency to be deplored on many considerations, perhaps, greatest of all, the discouragement it would give to the hopes of struggling nationalities who seek consolation and encouragement from England; but we have this consolation, that under any Government possible in these days, we cannot be worse off than under the Liberal Government of Lord John Russell. Stanley, unwittingly, may be the coming man to bring us through the transition state of misrule, into the political millennium, when the people shall enjoy their own again.

#### FALSE ISSUES.

THE worst enemies of a principle are those professed friends who imperfectly apply and thereby misrepresent it. Free-trade doctrines made no progress so long as the manufacturers clamoured against high duties on foreign corn, but were indignant at the hint of open ports for French silk or Spanish wool. The Whigs were justly powerless as Parliamentary reformers when they aimed only at disenfranchising Tory rotten boroughs. A great ecclesiastico-political truth is, at the present moment, comparatively powerless, because many of its professors have not the courage to trust its unrestricted action.

A similar ill service will be done, we fear, to the important cause of direct taxation by the vote on Monday night, by which Parliament is probably committed to the maintenance of the income-tax, with all its monstrously unjust provisions, for three years more. Of the two propositions submitted, one was, that the property and income-tax

be continued for another "limited period"—the other, that it be reduced by two-sevenths of its amount. The arguments in support of the one were briefly these:—The taxes in question were imposed to enable us to try a great fiscal experiment; that experiment is not yet wrought out, but it is so constantly evolving benefits that it would be unwise and criminal to disturb the conditions necessary to its safe development, though those conditions were intended to be temporary and are inevitably inequitable. Two classes of reasons or motives were found on the other side. There were some who admitted that they opposed the tax because they hated the policy it helps—others, who professed the strongest fidelity to the policy, and objected to the tax only in its present form. It is in the latter class of the opposition that we place ourselves. We gladly consented to the original imposition of a burden from which we now demand to be relieved. Sir Robert Peel had to refill an exhausted treasury, to appease a powerful agitation, to inaugurate a new policy, to break down a stubborn charm or a selfish party, to soothe and raise an excited and suffering people. He had to repair the blunders of incapable predecessors, to rend asunder his own marvellously wrought fabric—the great Conservative party—reverse the helm of State, deliver the vessel from the whirlpool just beneath its prow, and escape the evils that seemed following on its wake, like the spirits of the storm or the vultures of the deep. He produced the tariff of 1842, the Prospero's staff of his blessed enchantments, and his spell soon began to work. He gave an earnest of the complete emancipation of the people's food by numberless reductions from the burdens on their industry; and Nature seemed ready to aid, as she always is, the man who is willing to work with, and not against her. But the tariff was accompanied by the property and income-tax. It was heavy and far-reaching, and did not pretend to be exactly adjusted to the rules of equity. The higher and middle classes saw the absolute necessity of its imposition, and quietly acquiesced. They remembered that it was a war-tax, but they knew that it would avert what might be a civil war, and would appease what was certainly a fierce internal schism; and they comforted themselves with the hope, that it would expire with the three years for which it was leased to the Government. Within that cycle free-trade was established, but the potato-rot was being suffered, and a second time the exigency was acknowledged to require no less a sacrifice. The vast services of the financial restorative were perceived. Year after year it had yielded its five millions or more. It had replenished the exchequer, and so saved the credit of the country—it had ransomed the commerce of the country out of the hands of monopoly—now it must help Ireland through a famine. But if its value to the Government had been proved, its inequity had also been detected, and its severity felt. When the Whigs proposed, in 1848, to create the financial phenomenon of a surplus, by the simple expedient of raising the tax on property and income from three to five per cent., they were hissed from one end of the country to the other as blundering and audacious knaves. They were then warned that they must either give it up in 1851, or make its pressure more proportionate to the ability of its subjects. They now profess that it is impossible to do this, but boldly claim its renewal, which the House grants by a majority of forty-eight.

If the Whigs were as clever at conjuring with real as with political capital, they would be as popular as financiers as they are now the reverse. They make a very little stock of good deeds, compulsory virtues, and happy accidents go a long way. They seduce veteran Radicals with the vaguest professions, and promises based on the unlikeliest contingencies. They obtain a renewal of inquisitorial and oppressive powers on the credit of achievements to which they are forced, and to provide against embarrassments (such as the Kafir war) which they ought never to have incurred. Now the property and income-tax is to be continued because the window-duty is compounded with, and Lord Stanley has extemporized a Protectionist budget. That the Radicals consent, we take to be only another indication of their excessive amiability. We believe they will put on record the fact that a tax on property and a tax on income are very distinguishable—that the former the people highly desire, but the latter they require to be at least restrained from invading the pocket of the day-labourer. The distinction, we maintain, is obvious enough, and is capable of infinitely varied illustration. Property is the realized and accumulated result of labour—income its daily creation and sustenance. The one is to the other as the hoarded fruit is to the ephemeral blossom. The former is solid—at least for several generations—as the earth; the other literally uncertain as the life of man. To tax that which is a positive and substantial existence—guarded by law, and transmitted after death—is evidently just and beneficial; to put a duty on that which is incessantly active, self-destroying in its diligence, and transient in its tenure, is indeed to muzzle the ox that ploughs the

farrow and treads out the corn. We insist that the principle should be put before and pressed upon Parliament; and the rejection of the second budget be made contingent on the adoption of that principle. Never fear that even the barren brains of the present Ministry cannot find less objectionable means to raise the public revenue. At all events, they should be deprived of the pretence that they are promoting, by their present policy, the substitution of direct for indirect taxation. Nothing is so likely as prying into every man's earnings, and filching from them the price of a life assurance or the bare surplus above actual want, to make him prefer a mode of payment which, if exorbitant, is at least unseen.

### THE REVENUE.

An Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain, in the Years and Quarters ended 5th of April, 1850 and 1851, showing the Increase or Decrease thereof.

	YEARS ENDED APRIL 5th.			
	1850.	1851.	Increase	Decrease.
Customs .....	18,585,263	18,730,562	193,299	....
Excise .....	12,792,713	13,125,024	332,211	....
Stamps .....	6,354,429	6,105,525	248,905	....
Taxes .....	4,332,979	4,356,731	17,752	....
Property Tax .....	5,464,248	5,403,379	....	58,869
Post-office .....	803,000	861,000	58,000	....
Crown Lands .....	180,000	180,000	....	....
Miscellaneous .....	198,410	182,566	....	45,844
Total Ordinary Revenue .....	48,643,042	48,888,786	603,362	357,618
Imprest and other Monies .....	658,855	651,453	....	5,402
Repayments of Advances .....	537,349	759,126	205,777	....
Total Income..	49,853,246	50,299,365	800,139	363,020
Deduct Decrease.....			363,020	....
Increase on the Year .....		446,119	....	....
	QUARTERS ENDED APRIL 5th.			
	1850.	1851.	Increase	Decrease.
Customs .....	4,432,584	4,548,266	115,682	....
Excise .....	1,859,473	1,980,536	121,063	....
Stamps .....	1,538,125	1,548,008	9,883	....
Taxes .....	177,231	167,784	....	9,447
Property Tax .....	2,069,608	2,089,950	28,342	....
Post-office .....	231,000	272,000	41,000	....
Crown Lands .....	40,000	40,000	....	....
Miscellaneous .....	47,960	21,974	....	25,986
Total Ordinary Revenue...	10,395,981	10,668,518	307,970	35,433
Imprest and other Monies .....	301,750	261,765	....	39,994
Repayments of Advances .....	91,400	141,908	50,508	....
Total Income..	10,789,140	11,078,191	288,478	75,427
Deduct Decrease.....			75,427	....
Increase on the Quarter .....		283,051	....	....

Income and Charge on the Consolidated Fund, in the Quarters ended 5th of April, 1850 and 1851.

	INCOME.	
	QUARTERS ENDED APRIL 5th.	
	1850.	1851.
Customs .....	4,432,584	4,548,266
Excise .....	1,867,218	1,988,437
Stamps .....	1,538,125	1,548,008
Taxes .....	177,231	167,784
Property Tax .....	2,069,608	2,089,950
Post-office .....	231,000	272,000
Crown Lands .....	40,000	40,000
Miscellaneous .....	47,960	21,974
Imprest and other Monies .....	109,000	129,614
Produce of the Sale of Old Stores, &c. ....	192,759	182,151
Repayments of Advances .....	91,400	141,908
	10,796,885	11,080,092
	CHARGE.	
	QUARTERS ENDED APRIL 5th.	
	1850.	1851.
Permanent Debt .....	5,369,911	5,526,185
Terminable Annuities .....	1,269,625	1,274,435
Interest on Exchequer Bills issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund .....	524,531	614,701
Sinking Fund .....	96,881	99,020
Civil List .....	330,626	326,198
Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund .....	396,537	429,684
Total Charge .....	8,080,241	8,300,473
Surplus .....	2,716,644	2,779,619
The Surplus Revenue on the 5th Jan., 1851, after providing for the charges for that Quarter, was .....	....	1,013,814
To which is to be added the surplus of the Consolidated Fund on 5th January, 1851 .....	....	2,779,619
The amount issued in the Quarter ended 5th April, 1851, in part of the sums granted by Parliament out of the Consolidated Fund for Supply Services .....	....	3,792,433
The probable amount of Exchequer Bills required to meet the charge on the Consolidated Fund, April 5, 1851 .....	....	4,774,302
	981,869	....

### THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.

PETITIONS PRESENTED.
Agriculture, for the relief of.
Ballot, for the adoption of voting by.
Carriges, for alteration in the mode of taxing.
Church and State, for the separation of (Kirwan).
Church of Rome, against encroachment of.
County Franchise Bill, in favour of.
County-rates and Expenditure Bill, in favour of.
for better regulation of.
Courts of Probate, for the revision of.
Duegarts, for the suppression of.
Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, against.
for favour of.
for a more stringent measure.
Education (Ireland), for alteration of present system.
for a national secular system.
Elective Franchise, for protection in the exercise of.
Fire Insurance, for reduction of duty on.
Jews, against admission of to Parliament.
for 1.
Lord Lieutenantcy (Ireland), against abolition of.
Malt, for repeal of duty on.
Newspapers, for abolition of burdens on.
Paper, for repeal of duty on.
Pirates' head money, for inquiry into payment of for the Borneo massacre.
Poor-law (Ireland), for amendment of.
Poor-rate, for altering mode of assessment.
Post-office, for abolition of Sunday labour in.
Prisons (Scotland), Bill, against.
Public Expenditure, for a revision of.
Property-tax Act, for amendment of.
Public-houses (Scotland), for reducing the number of.
Punishment of Death, for the abolition of.
Roman Catholic Religion, against the public support of.
Salmon Fisheries (Ireland), for inquiry into.
School Establishment (Scotland), against.
in favour of.
Slave-trade, for suppression of.
Smithfield Market Removal Bill, against.
for 2.
Enlargement Bill, for 1.
Spirits (Ireland), for modifying duty on.
Sunday Trading Prevention Bill, against.
The rent-charge, for more equitable assessments of.
Windows, for repeal of duty on.
Wakefield Examiner, from the Editor of, complaining of proceedings of Board of Inland Revenue.

BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.
Audit of Railway Accounts Bill.
Act of Parliament Abbreviation Accounts Repeal Bill.
Apprentices to Sea Service (Ireland) Bill.
Charitable Institution Notices Bill.
Lord and Tenant Bill.
Audit of Railway Accounts (No. 2) Bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.
Acts of Parliament Abbreviation Bill.
Audit of Railway Accounts Bill.
Apprentices to Sea Service (Ireland) Bill.
General Board of Health Bill.
Medical Charities (Ireland) Bill.
Process and Practice (Ireland) Bill.

BILLS READ A THIRD TIME.
Appointment of a Vice-Chancellor.
Marine Mutiny Bill.
Mu'ing Bill.

NOTICES OF MOTION.
Thursday, April 10. (Deferred till.) Mr. J. Williams—for returns relating to St. David's College, Lampeter.
.... Sir W. Molesworth—to render the Colonies self-supporting and self-governing.
.... Lord John Russell—for a Select Committee on our relations with the Kafirs.
.... Mr. Adderly—for sending out a Commissioner of Inquiry.
.... Sir W. Molesworth—to relieve this country from the expense of the Kafir war.
.... Mr. Hume—on the Borneo massacre.

### DEBATES.

#### COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDER'S BILL.

On the motion of Sir W. Clay, on Wednesday afternoon, the House of Commons went into committee on this bill, of which he is the author. He proposed to introduce a clause enabling lodgers or compound occupants a right to vote on tendering the amount of rate due from the tenant. Mr. Henley started and Lord John Russell took up the objection, that this would place compound householders in a better position than other rate-payers, instead of simply facilitating their exercise of the franchise, as was the professed object of the bill. Mr. Newdegate contended that the manufacture of fictitious votes would be greatly encouraged. Mr. W. Williams showed how the metropolitan boroughs were affected by rate-paying requirements. In Lambeth there were 39,600 persons rated for the poor, and scarcely any of them at less than £10 of annual rent; and yet there were only 13,000 voters. In Finsbury there were 15,800 voters, and upwards of 37,000 persons rated, and of these 37,000 almost every one paid more than £10 a year. In Marylebone there were 16,800 electors and 39,000 persons rated to the poor; all of whom he might say with safety were rated at more than £10. In the Tower Hamlets the difference was still greater, although there might be fewer rated above £10 in proportion than in the other parishes; the number of voters was 19,000, and the ratepayers 73,000. Mr. Bright understood that in the metropolitan constituencies, it was not customary to construe the existing law so as to shut out the compounders; but in other places it was customary to shut them out, and he could point to a borough in the north of England where, within fifteen years, there had been an increase of 10,000 houses, but no increase of voters. There was also a practice widely prevalent, of the parochial authorities taking less rating than the rental for their own convenience. He contended that the payment of the amount which the parochial authorities had arranged with the landlord should be received in discharge of the rates for certain premises, should be held to be a discharge of the whole rate. Not to give the franchise under those circumstances would be to act in contravention of the Small Tenements Act passed last session, which preserved the franchise of all persons rated at above £6. Alderman Sidney resisted the extension of the franchise to compounders. Sir G. Peckell wanted to do away altogether with the necessity of paying rates and taxes [great laughter]—for the purpose of voting, he meant. He understood that, at present, compounders might be put on the existing rate; but the complaint was, that they were obliged to claim for every rate, and, as there might be four or five rates in a year, it was impossible for them to keep pace with the requirements of the law, to remove which was the object of this bill. Mr. Aglionby suggested that Sir William Clay should withdraw his amendment, and bring it forward at a subsequent stage; to which he acceded. Lord Robert Grosvenor remarked, that the three parties in the House had expressed their willingness to extend the suffrage; and he thought it would be better to withdraw proposals like this and Mr. L. King's, and approach the promised Government measure next session in a spirit of conciliation and comprehensive liberality. Mr. Newdegate proposed as an amendment on the first clause, that "the claimant to be rated himself pay the rate;" supporting it with the remark, that in the borough of Lambeth thousands of persons who did not belong to it took lodgings for electoral purposes; which Mr. Williams described as a misconception. Ald. Sidney specified the election of 1849, when Mr. Pearson threw out Mr. Hawes, as the occasion when this was done; but described the manufactured votes as those of compound-householders, who qualified for the purpose. With that alteration in the statement, Mr. Williams accepted it—it was what took place at the same time in all the metropolitan boroughs. The amendment was strongly objected to by Sir Edward Buxton and Sir W. Clay, and was withdrawn. The second clause was put down for re-consideration, with the amendments on the first; and the House then resumed.

EXTENSION OF THE COUNTY FRANCHISE.

Mr. Locke King, on rising to move the second reading of his bill for extending the ten pound franchise to counties, expressed his regret that the names of her Majesty's Ministers were not found in the majority on the introduction of the measure. He had been blamed for having pressed the House to a division; but he begged to assure them that he never intended that his motion should be a mere show, a sham, or a flash in the pan [cheers]. He meant it to be a reality, because he felt that the most important interests were at stake; and that the great cause of free trade was in danger, on account of the great diminution which had taken place in the county constituencies [cheers]. He deprecated, therefore, seeing the member for Bucks in the place of the noble lord; though had he wished for a violent change in our political institutions, he might have wished for that substitution. He was glad, however, that that division had placed the advocates of Parliamentary reform in a much better position than before; since one of its consequences had been to elicit from the two most distinguished

many large owners who had land in different parishes who retained portions of that land, such as woods, in their own holding, and were thus returned as so many separate owners. Deducting the boroughs, in 1841 the county population amounted to 9,125,131; adding to that 15 per cent. for increase in the population since, there was a total county population at the present time of 10,493,900. Then, if he took the number of electors, which then amounted to 484,073, and added to them 15 per cent., in order to keep pace with the population, it would augment the number of electors to 566,683 in 1851; but instead of that they only amounted to 461,413, showing an actual decrease of 95,270. Applying the same rule to the boroughs, he found that in 1841 their population amounted to 5,870,007, and, adding 15 per cent., the present population would be 6,750,007. The electors then amounted to 328,636, and, again adding 15 per cent., he found that the number now ought to be 377,931; but, instead of that, it had actually increased (while the counties had decreased) to 378,384. In 1841, one out of every 18 had a vote, both in the counties and boroughs, but now, while in boroughs the proportion continued the same, in counties it had decreased to 1 in 22. He hoped there would be no delay in applying a remedy to this state of things. It was the lesson of history, that what to-day would be accepted as a boon, to-morrow would be extorted as a right. In Ireland, a policy of coercion had been so long pursued, that much of the benefit of conciliation was lost. The disfranchisement of East Retford might have prevented the overwhelming necessity for a vastly larger concession in 1831. Postponement and obstruction had been invariably the characteristics of the Tory party, and they had reaped its fruit. The reign of Charles I. was followed by Cromwell and the Commonwealth; and, in our own time, George IV. was followed by William IV., the Reform Bill, Victoria, and Free-trade. In France, Louis XVI. was succeeded by the first revolution and Napoleon, Louis XVIII. by Louis Philippe, and Louis Philippe by a second revolution and a second Napoleon. There were some remarkable words uttered by that Louis Philippe in 1804, when Duc d'Orleans, which showed how much in 1848 he had forgotten his early instruction:—"Le moyen de rendre les révoltes plus rares, ce serait de rendre les réformes plus faciles." He (Mr. King) trusted that the noble lord, in 1851, would not forget the salutary doctrine that he had laid down in 1831 [hear, hear]. Let them consider, if they rejected this bill, what must be the effect produced upon the minds of those who would be enfranchised by it—a bill which was just in its principles, moderate in its terms, and simple in its operation, and which was supported by the great majority of the members of the metropolitan and manufacturing constituencies. If the hereditary prejudices of the great obstructive party in that House, or if those hereditary prejudices combined with the hereditary privileges operating elsewhere—if a powerful oligarchy, banded together by hereditary rights, or hereditary wrongs, or hereditary prejudices—should delay or refuse an instalment of this debt of justice, every man who would be enfranchised by this bill, and would have a voice in the election of those who taxed and legislated for him, would feel that the voice of reason and justice had been disregarded, and that a popular outcry and agitation might very properly be had recourse to [cheers]. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving that the bill be read a second time.

Mr. P. HOWARD seconded the motion. The bill would convey the franchise to a large and important class, namely, the professional men, who at present did not procure that privilege till late in life, when they acquired an independence from success in their various avocations [hear, hear]. The only persons who would now lay out £40 or £50 in obtaining the franchise were what he could only call jobbers in parliamentary interest; and he supported the measure because it would destroy their influence [hear, hear]. He believed that the people of this country had shown, by their habits of order and by their increased love of education, that they were quite worthy of the elective franchise [cheers].

Mr. FOX MAULZ had hoped that the hon. member would have been content with the opinion which the House had already pronounced upon this measure, and with the assurance of the noble lord at the head of the Government that as in his opinion an extension of the franchise might be safely conceded—in which opinion he fully concurred—a measure with that object should have been introduced this session had not circumstances brought up subjects which it was impossible to put aside, and which he defied any one to predict would be brought to a speedy termination [laughter]. The noble lord had gone further, and had pledged himself to bring forward such a measure should he be in office next year; and if any man in that House were entitled to have confidence placed in his statements it was his noble friend [hear], for of no man could it more honestly be said, that he had never shrunk from redeeming a pledge [hear, hear]. He strongly deprecated these bit by bit reforms; they could bear no fruit in their isolated forms. It was only by union among all ranks of reformers that anything could really be gained; and he called upon them therefore to combine, and follow the banner of him who, 20 years ago, had led them to one of the greatest reforms that any country had ever received at the hands of any Government, and who would, if allowed to use his own time and to exercise his own feelings, lead them to still further victories in the constitutional progress of Parliamentary reform. He entreated his hon. friend (Mr. King) for these reasons, to withdraw his motion.

Sir BENJAMIN HALL and Sir DE LACY EVANS thought the speech they had just heard placed the

matter in a new light. If a member of the Government had spoken as distinctly on the former occasion, the division would not have gone as it did. Mr. King was to be thanked for what he had done; but on him must rest the serious responsibility of exposing the Reform party to certain defeat by pressing the second reading to a division. They considered the principle of the measure had been acknowledged, and had perfect faith in the promises of the noble lord.

Mr. BRIGHT rose amidst cries of "Divide," but went on to say they had met to discuss not whether they should divide, but whether they should go on with the bill. He, too, had listened with considerable satisfaction to the Secretary at War, but neither he nor the noble lord had held out anything so distinct as that of his hon. friend. So far from accepting the principle of this bill, the noble lord had intimated that there was some constitutional reason why the franchise which was suitable and proper for boroughs, was not so for counties—a distinction which appeared to arise from some extraordinary veneration for that arrangement of our electoral system which arrayed the industry of the boroughs against the territorial influence of the counties. The hon. member for East Surrey was justified in bringing this specific proposition before the House, to have it fairly discussed; and if, during the recess, the noble lord considered the subject of parliamentary reform, and this particular question, he would be much assisted by a previous full and fair discussion on the principle of the bill itself, to determine whether it should pass, or whether its principle was a good one, and proper to be introduced into a general measure. It was agreed by the majority that they were to take another step in advance from the platform of the Reform Bill; for it was only a minority in that House who opposed all progress. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. F. Maule) objected to this bill because it was only a part of the whole question. There was some force in that objection; but when the hon. member for Montrose brought forward his motion, which embraced the whole question, which proposed not only to give a large extension of the franchise, but to accompany it with certain arrangements which seemed absolutely necessary for giving proper efficiency to a new reform bill, the Government complained that the proposition was so enormous that it was impossible for the House to adopt it, or even to discuss it on the motion of an independent member. Therefore, his hon. friend (Mr. L. King) had brought this forward as one branch of the great subject; and he hoped the discussion would have some effect in clarifying the mind of the noble lord when he came to consider it as a whole. It was not in any degree a question of principle as regarded the suffrage; for all that the bill proposed had been adopted with regard to half the electors in England and Wales, and to the whole of those in Ireland. It was merely a question of limits—a proposal to extend the suffrage already permitted in boroughs to those living beyond their limits in the counties. Were the opponents of this bill prepared to say that beyond those limits there was less industry, frugality, intelligence, virtue, or any of those qualities on which they professed to base the exercise of the franchise, than within them? Hon. gentlemen opposite were expected to represent those connected with agriculture—were their constituents to be left to a £50 franchise, while those in the boroughs had it as low as £10 a year? It was said that this measure, if carried, would give increased influence to the protectionist and territorial party. He would not object to it on that ground. It ought not to be looked at as a means of placing Whigs or Protectionists in office, but to be taken on its own principle, and with reference to the particular persons intended to be enfranchised. If, as the Government admitted, they were worthy of the franchise, it was a great and undeniable grievance to exclude them from it; for the constitution clearly was that all who could safely be entrusted with the franchise should have it [hear, hear]. He had no strong opinion on the question of division; he had not on the former occasion. If the noble lord would tell the house, with a frankness which he hoped he would recover on this question, but which seemed to have abandoned him for the last five years, what kind of proposition he would bring forward [hear, hear, and "oh, oh"]—when he (Mr. Bright) was asked for great confidence, he liked to know what he was asked to confide in; and looking at the speeches of the noble lord on this question, leaving out of view his antecedents twenty years ago, there was no reason for believing that he was about to submit such a reform bill as would excite the enthusiasm of the country, or such as his right hon. colleague had alluded to; and until the House knew whether the Government proposition was to be a large and generous or a small and peddling one, he must persist in his support of this bill. If the noble lord would give an outline, not of the clauses, but of the principles to be embodied in his measure—for he must have revolved them when he was ready to submit a proposition on the subject to his Cabinet last autumn—the bill might be withdrawn. Several hon. gentlemen behind him who had voted for the first reading of the bill felt in some difficulty now; and consequences had followed that division which he (Mr. Bright), among others, sincerely regretted. But hon. members who thought the franchise ought to be extended would find their object best promoted by a single-minded undeviating maintenance of the principle they adopted [hear]. The noble lord himself had been once an independent member of the House, and used to bring forward questions of reform; but he had never thought himself obliged to hide his light under a bushel, and put out his Reform Bill, because the Minister asked him to do it as a con-

venience to the Government [hear, hear]. The noble lord was not so bad a tactician as not to know that all measures carried by governments were carried because they were obliged to do it. If independent members put their opinions in the background, the result would be that nothing would be done, and they might as well go home, and allow Ministers to carry on, not only the executive, but the legislation of the country. He would rather see a bold and comprehensive measure of reform brought forward by the noble lord than by any one else; but if the suffrage was only to be given to depositors in savings'-banks, or something like that, independent measures must be continually pressed upon the Government and House [cheers].

Colonel SIBTHORP hoped the hon. member would divide, but could not support him, being unable to subscribe to anything which had a democratic tendency. The Secretary at War turned round to "our friends" [laughter], a united body, whom he implored to support the Government because union was strength. Nothing would gratify him (Colonel Sibthorp) more than to see the whole of that party, as he had seen them before, at loggerheads [laughter]. Out of apparent evil good would come. The scheme of the noble lord was a mere claptrap. Having thus expressed his humble opinion, he (Colonel Sibthorp) should retire. [The gallant Colonel then walked, with great deliberation, out of the House, amid laughter and cheers].

Mr. HUMS was not too ready to accept Ministerial promises [hear, hear]. The course proposed by the honourable baronet (Sir B. Hall) would shut the door to all discussion. If the parties contemplated by this bill were entitled to the franchise, it was unjust to refuse it; and every one who voted against it voted in favour of injustice ["hear, hear," and "no, no"]. The right hon. Secretary at War deprecated division. Who had caused division and broken up the Liberal party, but the Government, by standing still when the country demanded progress? [hear, hear.] What had taken place to induce him to believe that Ministers were more sincere now than on the former occasion? It was said the right hon. Secretary at War had admitted the principle of the bill; but was that any reason for dividing against it? Parliament ought to be honest [hear]—at present its promises could not be depended on. The institutions of this country were mainly supported by those who were deprived of the franchise; but, if the restriction were persisted in, was it not probable they would become discontented? It was childish to talk of withdrawing this bill without division. Let Government support it—for it was but the smallest possible instalment of reform—as an earnest of what they meant to do next year. He should divide in favour of the measure, careless of what the numbers might be [hear, hear].

Sir B. HALL stated in explanation that, what he meant to recommend after the speech of the right hon. baronet, was, that the whole of the responsibility should be thrown on the Government. He did not mean it to be understood that he would not support the bill on a division.

Mr. HEADLAM, Mr. RICE, and Mr. CLAY, expressed their unwillingness to vote for the second reading after what had been stated from the Treasury benches; it would be too much like a vote of no confidence in the Government.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE had not received that consolation from the speech of the right hon. Secretary at War which other gentlemen seemed to have got. He had not told them whether it was the magnitude or the inefficiency of the present measure that her Majesty's Ministers objected to [a laugh]. He told them, certainly, that it was a very respectable class to whom the bill proposed to extend the elective franchise; but the way he showed respect for that class was by voting a direct negative to the measure by means of which the franchise was proposed to be conferred upon them [a laugh]. Then, if he had read aright the speech which the noble lord at the head of the Government made on this measure, there was a very considerable discrepancy between the noble lord and the Secretary at War with regard to this class of voters. All that he could make out from the explanation of the noble lord was, that they would have introduced a bill this session only it occurred to them that next year the Reform Bill would be twenty years old [laughter]. How were they to know he would be in office then? [hear, hear, and laughter.] He should like to hear the noble lord say, "Wait till next year, and I will show you a reform bill—do not trifling away your time with this measure; it does not go half far enough [a laugh]. I will then give you such a measure of reform as that, after the next general election, gentlemen opposite, instead of complaining that they cannot get a fixed duty on the food of the people, will consider themselves very fortunate if they get off without a bounty being laid on the importation of food" [cheers and loud laughter]. If the noble lord would only state something like that, then he would join in asking the hon. member for East Surrey to withdraw his bill [hear, hear]. But when he considered that it was so long a time since the noble lord had done anything in the way of reform, he could not help advising him to support this bill (which could not interfere with his own great measure) by way of keeping his hand in [cheers and laughter].

Mr. ALD. SIDNEY would earnestly advise members on his side of the House, if he had any influence with them, to support this measure. So far from being democratic, he believed it would prove the contrary; as the Reform Bill, instead of making the people revolutionary, had made them more conservative than before.

Colonel THOMPSON was one of those gentlemen in difficulties [laughter] alluded to by the honourable member for Manchester. He was sent there prin-

sipally to promote two objects—the defence of free-trade and the extension of the suffrage, and he was bound conscientiously to direct his efforts toward those objects. He was afraid, however, he could not vote for a movement which appeared to him to be what the French in military phrase called "*de cause*"—unconnected and out of place [hear]. There was another reason that weighed with him on this matter. Certain consequences had followed upon the introduction of this bill [hear, hear], and those consequences he would be sorry to see repeated [hear, hear]. He differed *toto caelo* on this subject from some of those members who called themselves free-traders, and who thought it was of no consequence who sat on the Ministerial benches [hear, hear]. He would rather see a foreign army in possession of London six weeks, than see the Protectionists for six weeks in possession of those benches [cheers and loud laughter]. In the one case the mischief would be more concentrated, but not more imminent than in the other [hear, hear]. In these circumstances he should be obliged to vote against the bill, unless its mover took the advice of his most sincere friends, and consent to withdraw the motion for the second reading [hear, hear].

Mr. S. CRAWFORD would have thought the hon. and gallant colonel who had just spoken the last man to become a compromiser upon this question, and he deeply regretted the course he had thought it his duty to take [hear, hear]. The bill now brought before them was not brought forward as a sham or a delusion, and he called upon hon. members who voted for the first reading to stand upon the ground they then maintained. No inducement should lead him to withhold his vote for the second reading of the bill.

Colonel ROMILLY, as an advocate of the extension of the suffrage, would be prepared to go beyond the object of this partial measure; and, as he thought the success of the second reading would be most dangerous and injurious to the general cause of an improved representation, he must give his vote against it [hear, hear].

Mr. H. BERKELY and Mr. PIGOTT concurred with previous speakers in asking the hon. member for East Surrey not to go to a division.

Mr. HEYWORTH hoped the hon. member would press his proposition to a division. Even though its supporters should be in ever so small a minority, the country at least would have a proof of their sincerity [hear, and "divide"].

Mr. B. OSBORN questioned very much the discretion of hon. gentlemen who supported the proposition. It was all very well to assert that this was not a flash in the pan—a sham motion; but with great respect, he maintained it was, for all useful purposes, a sham motion, inasmuch as its author could never carry it [hear, hear]. It might be very well to give the Government a fillip; but he was not prepared like the hon. member for Montrose (Mr. Hume), to assert his want of confidence in them [hear, hear]. He had much more confidence in them to carry out reform than he had in the small party to which he had the honour to belong ["hear, hear," and a laugh]. However sincere hon. gentlemen might be, they could not deceive themselves that they would be called to form a Government, and to carry out this measure; and therefore the best thing they could do would be to support the man who was best able to effect this reform [hear, hear]. On a previous occasion he voted for the measure of the hon. member for Montrose, though not agreeing in all its details, but when the first minister of the Crown told the House that it was his intention to bring in a measure of reform next session, he would be no party to disbelieving him, and was not prepared to offer any factious opposition [hear, hear]. When gentlemen talked of strengthening the government by defeating them, he must confess that, in his opinion, it was a very extraordinary way to effect that strengthening—though, perhaps, they did right to "dissemble their love" [a laugh]. He believed the people out of doors did not care a farthing about so small a shred of reform as this [hear, hear]. Where were the petitions in favour of it? [hear, hear.] It did not go far enough, and the people were consequently indifferent [hear, hear]. If he (Mr. B. Osborne) saw a prospect of the hon. gentleman being sent to Buckingham Palace to form a Ministry, then he would vote with him [laughter]. But in the late crisis what a lamentable state of things was presented to them: neither the hon. member for Montrose nor one of his party had been mentioned [laughter, amid which Mr. Hume addressed a few observations, amid loud cries of "Order," to the hon. gentleman, which did not reach the gallery]. Well, then, there being no confidence either in the high or lower quarter in the reform party, the best thing to be done was to support the noble lord, and give him the assistance he deserved, by withdrawing the present sham measure and tendering a sincere support [hear, hear].

Mr. THOMAS McCULLAGH wished simply to make an observation or two on the very edifying discussion which had just occurred. He had listened with some amazement, and with some amusement, to the singular professions of penitence on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite [hear, and laughter]—who, by their own showing, had been inadvertently betrayed into a vote on the first reading of this bill, the consequences, or supposed consequences, of which they deeply deplored. They had no conception when they supported the hon. member for Surrey that the fate of the Government could in any degree be dependent thereon; and by way of proving their contention, they were now determined to vote against this bill [cheers]. For his own part, he was one of the hundred members by

whom the proposal had been affirmed, simply because he thought that £10 occupiers in English counties were as well entitled to the elective franchise as the corresponding class in towns; and he was prepared to vote a second time in favour of that very reasonable proposition, notwithstanding all the entreaties of some of its professed supporters that it should not again be put. But he begged to remind those who had not been particularly forbearing in their criticisms on the conduct of others, how easily the reproach of deserting and denying their opinions might be retorted on themselves [cries of "hear, hear"]. During the last few weeks certain hon. gentlemen who had the honour of representing Ireland had been made the theme of lavish censure for having voted for the motion of the hon. member for Buckinghamshire. He (Mr. McCullagh) had, in common with many of his honourable colleagues, uniformly declared that they did so upon very different considerations and for very different reasons from those set forth by its author [hear, hear]. Yet they were continually taunted with having voted against free-trade. He did not mean to accuse any hon. gentleman of turning his back on reform; the constituencies of England must judge, as the constituencies of Ireland would, of the conduct of their representatives. But he hoped that in future they should hear no more of loose and random allegations of inconsistency and abandoning principle [cries of "hear, hear"]—and that hon. gentlemen would not take for granted that every vote they did not understand, or did not take the trouble to inquire the grounds of, must necessarily imply a desertion of some great maxim of policy [hear, hear]. Let them bear in recollection the remarkable exhibition of this day, and remember the apparent incompatibility of their vote for the £10 franchise five weeks ago, and their intended vote against that franchise on the present occasion [hear, hear].

Lord J. RUSSELL said he had but very little to add to the speech of his right hon. friend the Secretary at War. He assured the House on a previous occasion, that he had no objection that these classes should be admitted to the privilege of the franchise; but the ground on which he wished to argue this question was, that their being admitted to vote for county purposes would not be an improvement of the representative system [hear, hear]. In the same way, if it were proposed that the forty-shilling freeholders, who were not resident, should vote in Manchester and Leeds, without questioning their fitness, he should say it was not calculated to improve the representation in that House. Some honourable gentlemen, in giving their reasons as to why they should vote in favour of the bill, required that he should give the House some explanation. He would first remark that this was only one of the alterations which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Locke King) would make in the representation, and therefore should not be taken on its own particular merits, but as intended to lead to something else. He (Lord J. Russell) therefore asked, considering the importance and gravity of this subject—considering that all the laws and measures adopted depended on the electoral body—whether it would be wiser to adopt a measure of this kind now, limited as it was, or to wait till the whole scheme for the alteration and extension of the franchise should be brought before the House? [hear, hear.] He gave that as a reason for not adopting the proposition [hear, hear]. The hon. member for Manchester had expressed a strong desire to know the outlines of the measure he (Lord John) would introduce. To comply with that desire would be the very worst course he could pursue. He repeated that he was of opinion, considering the advances made by the country since 1831, and the defects almost inseparable from every great measure, that it would be wise, at the very commencement of the next session, to consider a measure for the extension of the franchise. With these observations he left the proposition in the hands of the House, and should vote against the second reading.

Mr. DISRAELI defended his party from the imputation of resisting improvements of the Reform Act, reminding the House that when that bill had passed its supporters alleged that no adhesion would ever be given to it on that side of the House. They had disproved that allegation; they had considered it a virtual compact for the settlement of a great question; but when the very statesman who had introduced that measure gave up his own handiwork, they had considered themselves at liberty to regard the subject without respect to the past. They had opposed only those measures of Parliamentary reform the object of which was to retain in power some political section; and they would still oppose such measures and any which sought to displace that territorial power which he believed to be the best security for liberty, and the best means of maintaining the stable character of our institutions.

Mr. O. STANLEY declared his confidence in the noble lord, and his intention, therefore, to vote against the motion. Mr. LOCKE KING preferred leaving the matter in the hands of the House to withdrawing his motion; and the House divided—

For the second reading .....	83
Against it .....	299
Majority .....	216

The bill was consequently lost.

#### THE REMOVAL OF JEWISH DISABILITIES.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL introduced his motion—that the House go into committee on this subject, by the clerk at the table reading the resolution entered on the journals on the 5th of August last; which was done:—

That this House will, at the earliest opportunity in the next session of Parliament, take into its serious consideration the form of the oath of abjuration, with a view to relieve her Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion.

His lordship proceeded to say that he had so often stated to the House his reasons why the Jews should be relieved from their disabilities, that it was necessary he should now do little more than place before them the circumstances which had brought the question to its present position—a somewhat different one from that in which it formerly stood. He reminded the House that when Baron Rothschild presented himself, there was no objection to his taking his seat, but his objecting to repeat the words of the oath, "on the true faith of a Christian," and that, according to the report of the select committee on these oaths, the words were not intended to exclude Jews, but simply to give solemnity to the oath. A very different form of oath was required under the Commonwealth:

"That every person who now is or hereafter shall be a member of either House of Parliament, before he sit in Parliament, shall, from and after the first day of July, 1657, take an oath before persons to be authorized and appointed by your Highness and successors for that purpose, in the form following:—'I, A.B., do, in the presence of and by the name of God Almighty, promise and swear, that, to the uttermost of my power, in my place I will uphold and maintain the true reformed Protestant Christian religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and encourage the profession and professors of the same; and that I will be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, as chief magistrate thereof, and shall not contrive, design, or attempt anything against the person or lawful authority of the Lord Protector, and shall endeavour, as much as in me lies as a member of Parliament, the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people.'"

There was no trace in any subsequent legislation to the time of George I. of an intention to make this oath binding for the special purpose of excluding Jews; but there were two acts, the one the 10th of George I., with respect to the Papists registering their names as to real estate, and the other, the 13th of George II., for naturalizing persons in the American colonies, and by those two acts it was provided that if Jews presented themselves to take the oath, the words "on the true faith of a Christian" should be omitted. From that special provision, it was argued that it was evident the words could not be omitted without the sanction of Parliament. It was a doctrine laid down by high authorities, that the oaths ought to be taken in the manner most binding on the conscience. However, Jews could not well take their seats without being relieved from this part of the oath; and whether they should be so relieved really came to the bare question whether religious opinion was to disqualify for political rights [cheers].

With regard to the Jew (his lordship continued) there can be no objection made to the moral law to which he is subject—it is that by which the Jewish nation were governed in the time of our Saviour. Nor can there be any objection to the manner in which Jews conduct themselves in this country [hear, hear]—loyal subjects and moral members of society. Jews born in this country, as is well known, profess the same allegiance to the Crown, are ready to take the same oath as other subjects of her Majesty, and those who have been admitted to office, who have been acting as magistrates, or as members of corporations, have discharged their duty as fully and completely as any other person in the country [hear, hear]. Neither can it be supposed that, considering the small number of Jews in this country, those who may be elected by the constituent bodies of the country can make any real difference as to the character of the religion of this House. It must be a Christian Parliament whether or no they are admitted, and there being one or two or possibly three Jews in this House cannot alter the general character of it. It therefore comes, as I have said, to the bare question whether the difference of religion between the Jew and the Christian should be such as to deprive the Jew of the admission to civil offices and political privileges. Upon that ground it has been often argued, and I think it has been shown most conclusively, that acts, and not opinions, are what we ought to legislate for, and that there is nothing to prevent the Jew from sitting in Parliament [loud cheers].

Sir ROBERT INOLIS defied any person to contradict him when he said, that from the earliest period of English history no oath of admission to any legislative situation had ever been taken except on the holy evangelists or some symbol of the Christian faith. This measure was not merely for the admission of Jews, but for the admission of men of all religions, or of no religion, as far as profession was concerned. He could hardly understand that doctrine, and he should hold it to be a base dereliction of their duty to that God whose servants they professed themselves to be, if they ever introduced any form of government which did not proceed on his faith and fear; and if they did not, believing in the gospel, desire that that gospel should spread wherever their influence might extend, and be the foundation of all their proceedings in public as in private. It was possible, but hardly probable, that the number of Jews that might be admitted, if the measure of the noble lord was carried, would not exceed two or three; but the principle was conceded as much if there were only three as if there were thirty [hear], and the noble lord and his Government had, within the last week, sufficiently seen that the power of a small body, shifting its balance as occasion required, could create considerable inconvenience, even in a worldly and secular point of view [hear]. Was it well to suppose that the admission into the Legislature of an element so alien to Christianity as the faith of the Jews, might not be an important element of their deliberations? This was not a country in which Christianity was not an element—in which there was no Established Church—in which there was nothing to be decided but questions of corn and cotton. There was something more important to their deliberations than any material interests [hear, hear]—and for that Legislature he was anxious to maintain the character of a Christian assembly. If this measure were adopted, there would be nothing to prevent Parsees and Mahomedans becoming members of that House; and some hon.

members had said they saw no objection to that; but he could not but conceive that such a principle would have a most deleterious influence on their proceedings. It was from no disrespect to the Government or that House, which by a resolution was pledged in the present session to take the subject into consideration, but from a deep and perfect conviction that the course of proceeding on which the Government now asked the House to enter was a course fraught with difficulty and danger—difficulty to the Government, if it professed any great sympathy with such subjects—and great danger to the best interests of the country, that he opposed the further progress of this measure. Whether Christianity was or not part of the law and constitution of England—a doctrine which he had never abandoned—this, at least, was clear, that it was part of the creed of the Jews to regard Him, whom we professed to revere, as a crucified impostor; and would he (Sir R. Inglis) willingly admit any one of that creed to legislate for the creed of this country? [hear, hear.] No earthly consideration would induce him to open the doors of that House to those who conscientiously, he did not deny—seriously, he did not doubt—did not entertain that doctrine; but who, exactly in proportion as he believed their sincerity and conscientiousness, must, as he believed, use the influence they possessed, if not for the overthrow of our Church and of Christianity, at least to disparage every Christian institution of the empire [hear, hear]. He, therefore, should move the rejection of this measure by proposing that the House should resolve itself into committee that day six months.

Mr. MILNER GIBSON remarked upon the slenderness of the security which the hon. baronet was so anxious to maintain—that if any man would but profess himself a Christian, he was to take his seat as a Christian [hear, hear]. But his object in rising was to remind the House of the somewhat humiliating position it occupied in reference to this question; for he found no one out of doors who gave them credit for being earnest on the matter [hear, hear]. A first and second measure passed in that House having been rejected in another place, the noble lord at the head of the Government should have introduced a third, and seen whether that would have been rejected; instead of taking the common-place method of getting out of a difficulty, appointing a committee to inquire. This year, at all events, the bill ought to have been introduced earlier, and taken precedence of all other business. He hoped they might understand from the noble lord that he was now really in earnest in passing this measure; and that, if it were rejected a third time in another place, some decided step would be taken by the Government—that they would make this a Government question, and say they could not reconcile it to their sense of duty to the country to subject themselves and the House to such repeated humiliation.

Mr. PLUMPTRE hoped they would be in earnest in rejecting this bill, introduced with so little respect to the religious feeling of the country; for whatever might be the feeling of that deliberative assembly, simple and unsophisticated minds out of doors took no other view of this question than a religious one; and the overwhelming majority of the people of this country were strongly and decidedly against such a measure. There could be no doubt that the Jews were an extraordinary people. They were the most wonderful, as well as the most ancient, of nations, but they had rejected, and continued to reject, Him whom Christians honoured; and he must confess, as professing Christians, that they (the House) were laid under the deepest obligations to maintain the honour of His name. By neglecting to maintain that honour and reverence, they exposed themselves to the charge of deep ingratitude. He had no scruple in saying that they would be guilty of the deepest ingratitude if they took into their counsels men who rejected that divine name—and, he would add, expose the country also to great peril; for it was by His authority that kings reigned, and no state or nation could safely disregard its allegiance to Him. That was the view he took of this most momentous subject, and he could not sit down without expressing his conviction that the Christian feeling of the country would be deeply wounded if any such measure as this became the law of England [hear, hear].

Mr. WOOD-PROSSER said he considered all such restrictions as that it was proposed to abolish a mere mockery of religion. In this country the Legislature had long since agreed to the principle of admitting all men to perfect religious liberty, and to hold no man answerable for his belief. No doubt every man was answerable for his belief to Almighty God; but, as regarded the State, it was his opinion that all men should be left free. Did the case of the Jew form a peculiar exception, and was it competent to a Legislature to treat them as they had hitherto been treated in this country? Some, indeed, thought it our duty and privilege to execute the vengeance of Almighty God; but he was not one of those; and were it not that he felt reluctant to quote scripture upon such an occasion, he would point out passages quite sufficient to remove any such opinion. In the discussions on this subject it had been often said that as this was a Christian country, so should the Legislature be Christian—but to that a very easy answer might be given—as this country was not exclusively Christian, it did not necessarily follow that the Parliament should be entirely Christian. Then came the argument against the admission of Jews, which rested on the ground that they were aliens, but it had long been an opinion in this country, an opinion in which he participated, that every one born in England and making it his home, had a right to all the privileges enjoyed by Englishmen [hear, hear]. There was, however, one consideration which in-

duced him to hesitate about giving his assent to the resolution, and it was this—that the House of Commons governed the Church of England; it made laws affecting the religion of this country, and did not confine itself purely to political objects. If they went back to the old practice of the constitution, the House of Commons might, perhaps, consistently enough do this; but it was impossible to go back to ancient practice, they must go forward. If they went forward, so as to return a Parliament that would confine itself strictly to political subjects, and not meddle with religious affairs, then he should say there was no reason why the Jews were to be excepted. But he would ask, was the Government consistent in one day excluding Jews, and in another carrying on a petty prosecution against a large body of their fellow Christians? He hoped he should soon see the day when men of all religious opinions would be eligible to Parliament, and he indulged that wish, not merely for the advantage of the State, but for the good of religion itself [hear, hear]; but he could not persuade himself, under these circumstances, to vote either for or against this resolution.

Mr. NEWDEGATE condemned any attempt to override the opinion of the House of Lords; contended that the people of this country entertained profound dislike to the proposition; and feared that foreigners would have a poor idea of your Protestantism if the House adopted it. The House then divided:

For going into committee .....	166
Against it .....	98
Majority .....	68

The House then went into committee, and a resolution was agreed to for bringing in a bill to remove the disqualifications affecting the Jews.

The House having resumed, Sir R. H. INGLIS inquired when the noble lord intended to proceed with the bill? Lord JOHN RUSSELL replied, that when the bill was brought in he proposed to fix to-morrow week (Friday next) for the second reading. If anything made it necessary to appoint a different day, he should give due notice. Leave was then given to bring in the bill.

#### THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Mr. ANSTY, on Thursday, moved an address, praying her Majesty to appoint a commission to inquire, in India, into the operation and results of the existing laws touching the government and management of the territories under the administration of the East India Company. He observed, that on former occasions inquiry had been considered a condition precedent to the renewal of the Company's exclusive privileges; that the last extension of their term of rule was of the nature of an experiment, and that the act of 1833 was unduly precipitated—facts which rendered preliminary inquiry, before the lease was again renewed, the more necessary. The grievances which existed in 1833—ryotwar tenures, the monopolies of opium, salt, and tobacco, and the exclusion of natives from offices of trust—remained unredressed, and their effect was visible in the "low and abject condition of the cultivating population of India," declared in the report of the cotton committee of 1848. He insisted on the oppressive character of the assessment—the land-tax (or rent, as it was termed) reaching to 45 or 50 per cent., payable in money before the crop was carried; upon the severity of other imposts; upon the harsh restrictions and compulsions to which the labouring classes in India were subjected, and under which nine-tenths of them were annually sold up. Did not these things, he asked, deserve inquiry? Advertising next to the machinery of Indian administration, as equally demanding inquiry, he taxed the Court of Directors with supineness; denounced the vices of the judicial system, and the abuses in the dispensation of justice; and enlarged upon the disregard of treaties with native states, and the readiness to engage in war which characterised the Indian Government, and which tended to destroy the confidence once felt by the people of India in English justice. Lord J. RUSSELL thought the House was hardly in a state to enter into a consideration of these various subjects. Mr. Anstey had mistaken the position both of the Government and the House. Lord Broughton had rightly said it was not the intention of the Government to appoint a committee upon East India affairs this session, but that every information that could be obtained should be laid before the House; it would then be time to decide whether it would be requisite to appoint a committee. Mr. Anstey proposed an inquiry in India, which he (Lord John) believed would be the worst mode that could be adopted, since it would produce great excitement there, and interfere with the governing authorities; it would be far better, if inquiry were needed, that it should be conducted by a committee at home. With reference to the suggestion, that the administration of India should be vested exclusively in the Queen's Government, he disapproved of so dispensing with the assistance of the able and experienced men composing the Court of Directors. Mr. HUME, though he did not approve of sending a commission to India, considered inquiry necessary, which could be assisted by company's servants in that country. He suggested various points to which that inquiry might be directed, especially the political department. The Afghan war, he observed, had been begun, conducted, and closed without the knowledge of the Court of Directors, by the orders of the President of the Board of Control, who was a despot, though not so intended by Parliament. With Lord J. Russell he deprecated the abrogation of the Court of Directors. Sir J. HOOD said none could be more anxious for an open and searching inquiry into Indian affairs than the Court of Directors; but Mr. Anstey had acted unfairly and uncandidly, for, while professing to call for inquiry, he had cast the vilest imputations

without, and even contrary to, evidence. One of his great grievances was the exclusion of natives from office; but Sir James contended, from the extensive employment of Sudder Ameens and Moon-siffs, that it was unfounded. He put down as misapprehensions Mr. Anstey's statements respecting the land revenue and the monopolies of salt and opium; and defended Lord Dalhousie against some reflections of Mr. Hume, observing that no man ever went to India to whom this country and that were more indebted for energy, humanity, and extraordinary talent for administration. Mr. BRIGHT thought it would have been better if Mr. Anstey had framed his motion so as to recognise the necessity of a full and searching inquiry before the renewal of the charter, since many would doubt the expediency of sending a commission to India. He condemned the anomalous constitution of the home Indian Government, the functions of the secret committee, and the power of the President of the India Board, and suggested that the use of the patronage was not quite so pure as might be hoped for. That India had been misgoverned he inferred from the acknowledged fact that the labouring classes were in a state of abject poverty; and he contrasted the small sums expended by the Government in improvements with the vast sums they had derived from taxation. He complained of the dilatory character of the Indian Government and the absence of responsibility, which was its great defect. Mr. MANGALI replied to several points in Mr. Bright's speech, and observed that when such men as Lords Dalhousie and Hardinge were sent to India, practically a royal commission was sent to that country. Mr. ANSTY answered objections; but, deferring to the opinion of the House, withdrew his motion.

#### THE AMENDED BUDGET—THE INCOME-TAX.

On Friday, according to promise, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, produced his long-expected, reconstructed financial scheme; to receive which the House resolved itself into a committee of ways and means.

Sir CHARLES WOOD commenced by observing that the attention of the House had been given to more exciting, but not more serious topics, since he last addressed them on this subject; but the delay had carried with it the double advantage of affording time for reconsidering his proposals, and an opportunity of hearing those of the opposition. Lord STANLEY'S plan was to extinguish the income-tax and to impose a duty on foreign corn—his was to promote the comfort of the labouring class by reducing the duty on imports. He believed his principle to be the sound one; and admitting that his proposals had not been received satisfactorily, he said it mattered little whether the budget of a particular year were or were not popular, but it mattered much whether the principles of our finance were or were not sound. He went into the financial history of former years, arguing against the policy of continually borrowing, and in favour of that of keeping a surplus in hand; and in support of this latter argument alluded to the unexpected claims which were constantly springing up, instancing the probable cost of the Kafir war, and a demand recently made by the East India Company for the unliquidated expense of the Chinese expedition. Next, he insisted strenuously upon the misery which would arise from any neglect to keep faith with the public creditor, and then proceeded to contend that the masses were now in a better condition than heretofore, and were able to pay the taxation which still remained charged upon them. It might be unpopular to maintain national faith, but it was not the less a duty. This introduction finished, he went on to say that he saw no reason to alter his estimate of the year's income, and that the estimates of the year's expenditure had now been laid before the House. The estimated surplus would be, therefore, what he had already stated. His proposal for dealing with this surplus had been the subject of varied and violent assault. Every kind of reduction of taxes had been demanded of him, and he went into some detail to show the inadvisability of complying with many of those proposals. He had been charged with having no principle in his budget, but he repeated that his principle had been to benefit the mass of the working classes, remembering that government was instituted for the advantage of the many, and not of the few. This had been the key of all his acts. He had never sought to study class interests. He had sought to give the masses cheap food and cheap clothing, and those objects having been accomplished, he had sought to improve their dwellings. For their sakes he had, last year, reduced the duty on bricks, and this year he had proposed to reduce that upon foreign timber and upon windows; and when that should be accomplished, he should consider that he had closed his career well (so he was understood). After defending, in detail, the abolition and alterations of protective duties proposed in his former statement, he said that two of his proposed arrangements had been most unfavourably received—namely, that affecting the expense of lunatic asylums, and that affecting the duty on clover and grass seed; and these he did not feel it his duty to press in opposition to the wishes of those they were intended to benefit. It had been proposed to him to repeal the window-tax unconditionally. The best answer to that proposal was to set the amount of the surplus against the amount of that duty. He would then be left a surplus of £40,000, and a small item on account of the Kafir war would occasion a deficiency. But the sound objection to the window-duty was the mode in which it was levied. He had conceived that the substitution he proposed would be considered equitable and fair, and he thought that many of the complaints

against it had been more loud than just. At the same time he admitted that it had been deficient in the uniformity of imposition, which was so desirable. He therefore proposed to retain the abolition of the window-tax; thus preserving the sanitary value of his measure. He next proposed (in lieu of his previous scheme) to charge a uniform tax upon old and new houses alike, of 9d. in the pound upon dwelling-houses, and 6d. upon shops or houses used for the occupation of land. He would retain the exemption of houses under £20 annual value. His proposal would reduce the number of houses it had been proposed to charge from 500,000 to 400,000, would confer a great benefit upon shops and the other buildings on which the reduced sum was to be charged, and would reduce the amount of the total duty by the sum of £1,136,000, leaving him £720,000 only. He went into a variety of instances to show what would be the working of this scheme in different parts of London and the country, and contended that the tax would not in future be paid by the "people," in the ordinary sense of the word. There were 3,500,000 houses in the kingdom; the tax upon 3,100,000 would be remitted, and it would be charged upon 400,000 of the best houses in the country. This he conceived to be the nearest possible approach to a fairly-levied property-tax. He should adhere to his former proposal as to coffee and timber, and the total amount of contemplated reductions would be £1,636,000, which would leave a permanent surplus of £356,000. For the present year, as there would be a half-year's window duty to receive in July, there would be £568,000 to add to this; so that the total surplus for this year only would be £924,000. He could not consider it right to make any further reductions. He then proceeded to say that the income-tax would be retained for a "limited time," by which he understood such time as should enable the country to carry out the financial reforms for the sake of which it was imposed. After a brief attack upon the financial policy of the opposition, he concluded by an intimation that the consequences of a Protectionist policy might be most dangerous, but that while the people were properly treated we might defy all the perils which had agitated the continent from end to end.

The resolution upon which to found a bill for renewing the income-tax having been proposed, Mr. HARRIS complained that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done all he could to provoke the debate that night, but he (Mr. Herries) would not be betrayed into opening it, but would remark that the country was now officially informed that the property-tax was to be perpetual. He spoke at some length in comment upon portions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech, but promised to debate the question fully on Monday. Lord R. GROSVENOR had been much surprised at the indignation which had been excited in the metropolis by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's former proposal as to the window-tax, and the substitution for it, which latter he considered very reasonable. He regretted, however, that no other reductions would be consented to, as he was anxious to urge the claims of the attorneys to a repeal of their certificate duty. Mr. HUMES objected to the surplus in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer being employed in any other way than in reducing taxation. He by no means thought the income-tax the most objectionable of all our imposts. Mr. TRELLAWNY advocated the policy of paying off the debts of the nation whenever opportunity offered. Mr. H. BAILLIFFE considered that the mode in which the income-tax was assessed was most unjust, and that, before renewing it, the mode of levy should be reformed. Mr. W. WILLIAMS argued that the window-tax ought to be taken off unconditionally, and without any substitution for it. Lord DUNCAN stated his opinion that the present plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was decidedly preferable to his former one. Sir B. HALL would reserve his sentiments on the income-tax, and would, at a proper time, take the sense of the House as to the imposition of the house-tax. The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER explained, that he proposed to renew the income-tax for three years. Mr. HENLEY conceived we were taking a dangerous course, and one likely to destroy public credit; and he trusted, either that our revenue would increase, or that our expenses might be cut down. If neither event happened, we should speedily find ourselves in an embarrassed condition. Mr. M'GREGOR, on the other hand, conceived the policy of the Opposition, in regard to the income-tax, as fraught with extreme danger. Alderman SIDNEY said that this was a great improvement on the former plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but took objections to the mode in which it was proposed to rate the metropolitan shops. Mr. W. BROWN hoped that all honest Free-traders would stand by the Government. Sir Ds LACY EVANS was opposed to the adoption of a house-tax. Mr. STANFORD saw no improvement in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plan, except that he had infused a little more sense into the mode of levying his house-tax. Mr. WAKLEY said that, thanks to agitation, we had got an improved budget, and he professed himself greatly pleased with the liberal sentiments of the speech which had introduced it. Mr. T. BARING thought that the honest course for the present Government would have been to retain the surplus. He ridiculed the idea that the taking off the window-tax was a relief to the masses, describing it as a mere yielding to the "pressure from without," through the metropolitan members, and as a relief to the classes that needed no relief. He deprecated the doctrine that national credit should rest upon direct taxation, which might, in the moment of distress, be thrown off by the discontented. But it was only a strong Government that could be an honest one. Lord J. RUSSELL

defended the proposed reduction of duties, and contended that it was not the pressure from without, but a legitimate expectation of increased revenue, that had induced such a course. He hinted that Mr. Baring, in his invective against Ministers, was making an "after-dinner speech." Mr. DISRAELI retorted that most House of Commons addresses were "after-dinner speeches." He taunted the Government with having a small surplus and not a large party, and that very surplus a false one. He remarked that he had accepted the Government proposition as to pauper lunatics as a very important one, because he saw no difference as to the principle of supporting a pauper, whether sane or lunatic, and therefore the admission that the one was entitled to support from the Consolidated Fund, carried the admission that the other ought to be similarly maintained. But this, the single professed boon to the agriculturists, had been now taken away. He therefore announced that if Mr. Herries's motion were not carried, he would call the attention of the House to the surplus in the hands of Government, and would ask that such surplus might be applied towards the relief of the only suffering class in the country. Lord ESSINGTON said the hon. member had alluded to the humiliating condition of the Government, depending, not upon their measures, but upon their speeches. He thought there was one thing more humiliating, and that was the position of a party only able to make speeches, and considered by their own leader so incompetent as not to be capable of proposing any measure at all, good or bad [oh, oh]—a party admitted to be utterly incapable of forming any administration [hear, and oh]. As to the idea that there would not really be any surplus, surely the Chancellor of the Exchequer had satisfactorily settled that, having stated that £900,000 would be the probable amount of the year, and that since 1843, £7,000,000 of taxation had been taken off or about £1,000,000 per annum. He had been gratified at hearing the courageous statement of his right hon. friend, that, after all that had been said, the people of this country were more lightly taxed than those of most continental states. Mr. FREWER complained that the right hon. gentleman had set the excise officers to work everywhere in the county he represented, where many of the farmers were actually unable to pay their rents. Mr. WAWN was not quite satisfied with the budget, although it was a great improvement upon that formerly proposed. He complained of the injurious effect produced upon British shipping, by the alteration of our commercial laws, and especially of the operation of the timber duties. Mr. LABOUCHERE would now venture to repeat an assertion which he had made even before his right honourable friend was enabled to reduce the duty on foreign timber—that, looking at the price of iron and the other advantages which he possessed, the British ship-builder was able to compete with any ship-builder, no matter in what part of the world [hear, hear]. For the construction of iron steam vessels this country possessed immense advantages over foreign countries, and it might be seen that we carried on a very considerable trade even in the building of merchantmen on behalf of foreign merchants. Colonel SIBTHORP took the liberty of assuring the House that it was his intention to persevere with his motion relative to the remission of the income-tax now levied upon the tenant farmers. Colonel THOMPSON did not know whether the noble lord had a large party or not; but this he knew, that he had one which kept a large party at bay, and he trusted would long continue to do so [hear, hear]. He did foresee a consequence from the speech of the Chancellor; namely, a large accession to that party [cheers], and he trusted that there was no member of that House who professed himself a supporter of the manufacturing and commercial interest who would fail to support the right honourable gentleman when the question came to a discussion; for if they did they would evince a degree of mental obliquity almost amounting to a proof of providential dispensation of mind altogether [laughter]. If the free-traders were finally beaten, they would have themselves, and themselves only, to thank for it, and he was ready to give his evidence that no men ever more deserved it [laughter]. Gentlemen opposite had carried on, and they did carry on, the war ably and gallantly; their movements were connected; what they did outside of the House was in unison with what they did in the House. If the working classes, who were rapidly rising in influence and power, did not evince that they knew the men that helped them when they saw them, they would forfeit the great claim they had to sympathy and success. The hon. member for Tavistock had said that it was better the taxes should be paid indirectly than out of the pockets of the wealthier classes; for the means of the latter would be impoverished, and they would thereby be prevented from giving employment. He wholly dissented from that doctrine. What became of the money? If the £100,000 taken from the pockets of the wealthier classes was laid out in the purchase of soldiers' clothes, it would just result in the same thing in the end to the working men of Leeds and Halifax as if it had been laid out by their employers instead of by the Government. He wished the working men to be impressed with that fact, and he did trust that they would take this opportunity of standing by their friends [hear, hear]. Mr. ALCOCK considered, that although the budget conferred no great boon upon the agricultural interest, it would give much greater satisfaction to the country than that formerly proposed by the right hon. gentleman. He would not support any proposition for the repeal of the income-tax, as the result of that would be to saddle on them in perpetuity the malt-tax. Mr. HUPSON contended that,

in justice and fairness, the whole of the timber duties ought to be repealed. Mr. LABOUCHERE would only state this one fact in reply to the hon. gentleman, that during the past year more ships had been built in Sunderland than ever had been the case since Sunderland was a port. Mr. L. HAYWOOD said, if there was one part of the budget which he more approved of than another, it was the continuance of the income-tax, with a view to relieve the pressure upon industry. The working classes were daily rising in the scale of intelligence; and when they came to know, as they soon would, that by indirect taxation they were made to pay ten per cent., while the wealthier classes escaped with five per cent. of taxation on their incomes, they would not long stand such injustice. The resolution was then put and agreed to. The House resumed, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday.

On Monday evening, the report from the Committee of Ways and Means having been brought up, Mr. HARRIS moved the resolution of which he had given notice, setting forth that the income-tax had been intended, and ought to have been a temporary measure, and declaring that the renewal should now be limited to such an amount as might be deemed necessary in the existing state of the revenue to provide for the expenditure sanctioned by Parliament, and for the maintenance of public credit. He quoted the authority of various members of the present and former Ministries, to show that the income-tax was originally granted as a temporary concession to financial necessity. He argued, from the nature of the impost, its unjust and inquisitorial character, and the general unpopularity that attended it, that its continuance was only to be endured so long as the crisis in which it originated should exist. This, he contended, had now passed away, and pointed to the improvement of the revenue and the expanding surplus in proof of the assertion. Among the taxes which this prosperity would enable us to abolish he assigned the first place to the income-tax. The actual surplus for the year he estimated at two millions, and recommended that two-sevenths of the income-tax should be remitted, causing a sacrifice of revenue to the extent of £1,500,000, and suggested that certain regulations in the assessments of the window-duties, which must in this case be retained, would remove all the sanitary objections to that impost. The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER vindicated his consistency by showing that his opposition to the income-tax when first proposed was offered with a special reserve of those very justifications that could now be pleaded; viz., the abolition of taxes upon consumption, such as the corn, sugar, and timber duties. The renewal of the tax in 1845 was asked for by Sir R. Peel solely for the purpose of commencing those experiments in taxation. Contending that the comparative injustice of the several schedules in income assessed to the tax was a matter of great doubt, he urged that it would be unwise to restrict it to period of a single year. He justified his own scheme of finance, contending that the taxes which he proposed to remove were more injurious than the income-tax, and, besides, promised to expand under alleviation so much as ultimately to replace the whole amount of revenue sacrificed at first. He, in conclusion, insisted that the proposal of Mr. Herries was really the first step in the policy of Lord Stanley, who had therein shadowed forth a duty upon corn; and he called upon the House to vote, not a permanent income-tax, but a tax for three years, for objects conducive to the best interests of the country. Mr. PRINCEP denied that the budget was founded upon the principle professed—the benefit of the mass of the population: it was class relief. He condemned upon principle a tax upon property, and should vote for the motion of Mr. Herries. Mr. F. PSEL disengaged from the amendment of Mr. Herries, while unable to express his unqualified approval of the financial policy of the Government. There was a net deficiency, laying aside the income-tax, of about £847,000 for the present year, and of £3,500,000 in future years; and it was to cover this deficiency he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) invited the House to re-impose the income-tax for three years. He was favourable to the principle of an income-tax, which combined the principle of indirect and direct taxation, making the wealthy classes pay their due proportion. Immense advantages had the labouring classes derived from our late commercial and financial progress, from the stimulus given to industry by the removal of duties which weighed upon the sources of employment. In nine years, taxes upon home manufactures, raw materials, and food, to the amount of £10,500,000, had been remitted, while the great branches of the revenue remained as large as in 1842, and the declared value of British exports, which had been nearly stationary from 1835 to 1842, had rapidly increased from £52,250,000 to more than £71,000,000. There still remained a large amount of indirect taxation pressing upon the productive classes, and the inference was that, if £5,000,000 was not raised by direct taxation, the Legislature must in effect revert to the system of Protection which had so long obstructed the development of our resources. Mr. Herries had alleged that the faith of Parliament was pledged to discontinue this tax after a limited period; but he (Mr. Peel) took a preliminary objection to Parliament entering into a compact of this kind. The policy of 1841, under which the income-tax had been imposed, was to remove duties more vexatious than that tax; this policy had not been brought to a conclusion, and he could not, therefore, vote for the removal of the tax. The inducements which the Government held out for its continuance were, that it would enable them to repair a deficit,

retain a surplus, and remove taxation. He examined these several reasons, and with respect to the removal of the window-tax, which would not directly benefit the working classes, he could not, he said, approve the abandonment of that duty, which was a direct tax paid in the proportion of expenditure, the very point sought to be arrived at by a modification of the income-tax. Regarding the latter tax as a great lever to elevate the moral and social condition of the country, he should be most reluctant to relinquish an implement by which so much good had been and might be effectuated. Mr. T. BARING censured the pliability which had led the Government to form their finance schemes according to the behests of popular agitation. He could not consent to forego a large proportion of the existing surplus as was proposed by Mr. Herries, although he coincided in the principle on which the resolution was based. He went on to criticise the theory and details of the income-tax, deducing from the contraction of the aggregate of Schedule D, that either the incomes from industry were dwindling under the operation of free-trade, or that the subjects were guilty of most extensive frauds. Mr. WILSON declared that the resolution brought into antagonism two great parties, one wishing to reimpose protective duties, the other to follow out the policy of late years. He then entered, in much detail, into the financial and commercial history of the country since the adoption of free-trade principles, showing how rapidly the public revenue had filled up the chasms occasioned by reduction, and how vast had been the expansion of exports and imports in almost every article known to British commerce. Denying that any tax, if politic in itself, was to be repudiated merely because it had been called a war-tax, he complained that the agriculturists were never contented with their share in the general advantages from a diminution of burdens, but required some exclusive boons. The per centage of the population dependent upon agriculture was perpetually decreasing; and it was therefore necessary to throw open the channels of industry in other directions. Mr. BOOKER and Mr. SPOONER opposed the renewal of the income-tax, because it enabled Government to carry out their suicidal free-trade policy. Mr. SLANEY supported it for the opposite reason. Sir R. INGLIS reluctantly assented to it. Mr. SHARPE CRAWFORD, Mr. REYNOLDS, and Lord C. HAMILTON, approved its principle, but the details were so hopelessly unjust that they opposed its renewal.

The House then divided:

For the original resolution .....	278
For Mr. Herries's amendment.....	230
Majority for Government .....	—48

Mr. DISRAELI's amendment stood next on the paper, but after some conversation it was agreed to take the debate upon it on Friday. It set forth the necessity of devoting the surplus to the relief of the owners and occupiers of land. Mr. HUMPHREY repeated the notice he had given of an amendment for restricting the renewal of the tax to one year. Mr. CONNELL wished for some opportunity of taking the sense of the House upon the question whether the assessment of the tax could not be improved. The report was then brought up and agreed to.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**REFUSAL TO BURY DISSENTERS.**—In the House of Lords, on Thursday evening, the Duke of RICHMOND presented a petition from the mayor and town council of Chichester, complaining of the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Kenrick, who had refused to read the burial service over the body of a Dissenting clergyman, and also over a woman who had committed suicide, although a coroner's jury had found that she was insane. All this was contrary to law; and if the rev. gentleman had conscientious scruples preventing him from acting according to law, he ought to resign, instead of acting in opposition to it. Some conversation followed as to the defective state of the law regarding the correction of clerks. In one case a bishop, now on the bench, had been severely mulcted in an amount of costs which he might not be able to pay without injuring himself and family. The Bishop of LONDON said it was his intention, at some future time, to introduce a measure on that head, but that he will not bring before the House during the present session either the Church Discipline Bill, or the Ecclesiastical Appeal Tribunals Bill.

**LOANS FOR FARM BUILDINGS.**—Mr. B. COOKE obtained leave to bring in a bill "to extend the provisions of the Private Money Drainage Act of 1849 to the advance of private money for the erection of farm buildings on lands in Great Britain and Ireland." The act enabled persons to obtain advances of money for the purposes of drainage, and the object of the present bill was simply to enable them to obtain money for the erection of farm buildings; the money to be repaid out of the farm in the course of, at most, thirty years. There was often great difficulty in procuring money for this purpose. In Scotland, where the land was strictly entailed, there was no power of obtaining money except upon life insurances.

**COAL WHIPPERS.**—Leave was given to Mr. LABOUCHERE to bring in a bill to continue and amend an act for establishing an office for the benefit of coal whippers in London.

**THE COPYRIGHT DESIGNS EXTENSION ACT.**—After an amendment moved by Mr. WALPOLE had been negatived by 92 to 56, passed through committee.

**EXPENSES OF ANTI-PAPAL MEETINGS.**—In answer to Mr. REYNOLDS, on behalf of the petitioners from the parish of St. Luke's, Mr. BAINES (Secretary of the Poor-law Board) stated that these expenses could only be authorized by a local act, which the

clerk of the guardians informed him they possessed. Any parishioner objecting might complain to the district auditor; and appeal from him, if desirable, to the Court of Queen's Bench.

**CONTESTED ELECTIONS.**—The committee on the Aylesbury election reported that they had decided that Mr. T. Calvert was not duly elected; his agents, without his knowledge, having been guilty of bribery and treating. The SPEAKER informed the House that the opposition to the Falkirk Burghs election had been abandoned. On Monday, the serjeant-at-arms reported that he had taken into custody a witness named Lynes, on the warrant of the chairman of the Saint Alban's committee, for prevarication and obduracy; and that he had been served with a writ of *Abetere corpus* on that account. The prisoner having made suitable acknowledgments and promises, was discharged; and the serjeant was ordered to reply to the writ of *Abetere corpus*, that the man had been captured for breach of privilege, and had been discharged. The Speaker's warrant was issued for the apprehension of three other persons, charged by the chairman of the committee with the abduction of witnesses.

**THE LAW OF PATENTS.**—Col. SHERMAN moved for a return of the expenses incurred in taking out a patent in England, Ireland, and Scotland respectively, independent of the specification distinguishing the items or heads of that expense, and specifying the several offices in which fees are demanded and made payable, and manner in which the fees are appropriated; also the highest and lowest amount of specification; also a return of the expenses incurred at the Attorney or Solicitor-General's offices for taking out a patent in England, distinguishing the items of heads of those expenses; similar return for Scotland, and similar return for Ireland. The motion having been opposed by Messrs. HAWKS and LABOUCHERE, on the ground that it was already published in the appendix to the report of the committee upon the Petty Seal and Signet Offices, was rejected by 70 to 39.

**TESTS IN SCOTCH UNIVERSITIES.**—Mr. F. MAULE, in answer to a question from Mr. COWAN, was understood to say, that since the bill on this subject was introduced in 1845, he believed a change had taken place in the feelings of the people of Scotland upon it, and he should therefore be happy to introduce another bill to meet their views, if the state of public business would allow it.

**RAILWAY AUDIT.**—The Audit of Railway Accounts Bill was read a second time, after a brief explanation by its author. Mr. LOCKE stated, that it is the bill framed by a body of forty gentlemen, shareholders as distinguished from directors in companies, who were chosen to frame a measure—representing a constituency who had spent £120,000,000 in railways, and who are therefore entitled to respectful attention. Mr. LABOUCHERE repeated his opinion, that somebody extraneous to the companies, and springing neither from the shareholders nor directors of the company, would alone be competent to check all abuses; but as Government had not time to attend to the matter, it would be ungracious to oppose the measure. He seemed, however, to reserve opposition for the next stage.

**"HISTRIONIC PERFORMANCES."**—Sir B. HALL asked Lord J. Russell on Friday, "whether, during the last six weeks, he had had any communication with the archbishops and bishops of the Established Church, in reference to the continuance of certain forms introduced into our churches by different clergymen, and against which certain of the bishops had charged their clergy; and whether it was the intention of the archbishops and bishops to take any effectual steps for the purpose of suppressing such practices, which the Bishop of London in a recent charge had denounced as histrionic performances?" In introducing this question, Sir B. Hall referred to the statement that a clergyman had refused to baptize an infant child of Lord Londesborough, except in a way dangerous to the infant's health. Sir R. H. INGLIS protested against that House being made the arena for the discussion of questions with which, composed as it was of men of all persuasions, it was eminently unfit to deal. Sir B. HALL replied that there was no other arena where such matters could be discussed, and that so long as the Church was connected with the State, it must be liable to the supervision of that House. The recent episcopal manifesto was a trumpety letter, and the subject should shortly be discussed in all its fulness. Lord J. RUSSELL regretted that Sir B. Hall had brought up the *ex parte* statement of Lord Londesborough. Since his last statement to the House upon the subject, he had, personally, had no communication with the archbishops or bishops, in whose hands he considered such a matter was most properly left. He would say nothing about the episcopal address, but an address upon the question raised by Sir B. Hall had been presented (signed by 320,000 persons) to her Majesty, who had ordered it to be referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury for communication to the other archbishops and bishops, and, with such reference, there had been added an intimation that her Majesty was desirous to discourage any innovation upon the established usages of the Church. He was content to leave the matter to the discretion of the Archbishop, but there would be no difficulty about producing the communication which had been made two or three days ago. He deprecated discussing such a topic in that House, and added that, though entertaining very strong opinions upon it, nothing should induce him (remembering the unfortunate events which had occurred in reference to the Scotch Church) to take any step tending to a disruption in the Church of England. Mr. NEWDEGATE, in announcing that whenever the Jews' bill should

be brought in, he should move its being read that day six months, said that this very discussion proved most strongly the impropriety of admitting into that House persons of varying religious persuasions.

**(THE LAW OF NEWSPAPERS.)**—Mr. MILNER GIBSON obtained, on Monday evening, a select committee to enquire into the laws and postal regulations affecting stamped publications, and report thereon.

#### LAW, POLICE, ASSIZE, &c.

**TRIALS FOR MURDER.**—At the Taunton Assizes on Friday, John Willis was indicted for the wilful murder of William Wilkins, by knocking him down with a spade, and beating him on the head with an Italian iron, on the 8th of February; and John Smith was charged with aiding and abetting. It appeared that the two prisoners first came to the house of the deceased, who kept a small shop, on the pretence of buying a loaf of bread, and afterwards returned to obtain money there, when they both attacked the deceased and his wife, leaving the old woman for dead, and then assaulting her husband, who shortly afterwards died of the wounds he received. Footmarks were seen; they were followed, and at length the prisoners, who had been seen together in the neighbourhood, were discovered. On one was found the knife, on both money, which each admitted was taken from the old woman. These acknowledged facts, said the Lord Chief Baron in summing up, could admit of no doubt.

The law was this: if two parties were together jointly concerned in a felony, and in the commission of the felony one of them committed a murder in the presence of the other, it was murder in both, and lamentable would be the safety of her Majesty's subjects, if, upon reasoning such as they had heard to-day, a criminal who at least participated in the plunder—who allowed that he was present on the occasion, though not in the same room—could with impunity admit so much share in the guilt as to have partaken of the plunder of the old woman, and yet not be responsible for the death of the old man.

The jury very shortly returned a verdict of "Guilty" against both prisoners, and sentence of death was passed upon them.—Three men were tried the same day at Bury St. Edmunds for the murder of Napthen, the head keeper, who was killed in a poaching affray at Eveden on the night of the 19th December. The identification failed, and the three were acquitted.—George Carol (aged 23) was found guilty of, and sentenced to death for, the murder of Elizabeth Bainsbridge, by throwing her into a pond, at Lawshall. The woman was separated from her husband, and the young man made love to her, and is supposed to have killed her in his passion.—Maria Clarke (aged 22) was also convicted, at this black assize, of the awful crime of burying alive her illegitimate infant. Her counsel contended that simply from the enormity of her offence she must have been mad; but neither judge nor jury accepted the plea. She was sentenced to death.—Joseph Clarke was tried on Saturday for the murder of his wife at Bath, by a horrible act of violence. The deceased appeared to have been a wretched drunkard, and the jury, willing to believe that the man intended in his excusable anger no mortal blow, found him guilty of manslaughter.

**ILL-USING A PARISH APPRENTICE.**—At the Middlesex Sessions, on Thursday, Mary Ann EAMES, accused, with her husband, of cruelly treating their parish apprentice, pleaded guilty. It seems that, through the publicity given to the case, the customers of EAMES have forsaken him, and he is a ruined man. EAMES himself was not put on trial, as he had left the apprentice-beating department entirely to his wife. In consideration of the ruin which has befallen EAMES, the Court fined his wife 10s. to be paid to the boy, and 1s. for the Crown; and bound Mrs. EAMES, by recognizances of £50, to keep the peace for twelve months.

**WORKHOUSE RIOTS.**—Eight men were tried at Bury St. Edmunds, on Wednesday, for creating a riot in the Barham union-house on the 9th of February. Seven of the number were convicted, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.—Fourteen women, who have been for several years constant inmates of the workhouse of the East London Union, were brought before the Lord Mayor, on Monday week, charged with having most violently assaulted the master, and with having broken 240 panes of glass, smashed five dozen plates, and done other serious damage in the premises. Mr. Baylis, the clerk to the guardians, stated that some of the prisoners, who had never been under accusation before, had no doubt been induced to join in the riot by the notorious prodigates who had been living from their childhood at the expense of the rate-payers, and had rendered the house, which was meant to be a place of refuge to the aged and unfortunate, a sort of hell upon earth to the deserving poor. The time selected by the ringleaders was Tuesday, the 1st of April, when the inmates were all assembled at dinner together in the hall, and the attack upon the master was so ferocious that if there had not been a timely and accidental interference the consequences might have been fatal. His lordship then discharged the four novices with a severe reprimand—sentenced five of the other prisoners to imprisonment and hard labour for two months, and committed five to Newgate for trial. The scene which ensued at the bar was tremendous. The sentenced prisoners screamed and swore and stamped, and it was necessary to employ several strong men of the force to restrain them.

**SAMSON'S FIREBRAND FOXES.**—At Bodmin, a man named Hill was tried for threatening to burn the house and strawricks of his brother, with whom he

had quarrelled about the inheritance of their father's property. The only mode by which a threat to burn could be inferred by the letter sent was by taking these words, "Because you have gone to live at the Lizard, you have a specimen at Mullion for you to go by. Perhaps you may read of Samson and the Philistines. If no foxes are to be bought, there may be something instead." Now, upon referring to the book of Judges; chap. xv.; verses 4 and 5, the words were, "And Samson went and caught three hundred foxes, and took firebrands, and turned tail to tail, and put a firebrand in the midst between two tails; and, when he had set the brands on fire, he let them go into the standing corn of the Philistines; and burnt up both the shocks and also the standing corn." In those verses no mention of houses or stacks of corn was made, but the reference was clearly to "standing corn." At the place in question, Mullion, there had been standing corn set fire to. It must be clear, therefore, that the writer of the letter referred only to standing corn; to set fire to standing corn was not an offence within the statute; therefore, the prisoner's counsel (Mr. Cole) contended, no person could be found guilty under the indictment. The Chief Baron thought the objection was a good one, and directed the jury to acquit the prisoner. The jury hesitated for some time, and did not return their verdict of "Not guilty" until the learned judge had told them more than once that it was not their office to make laws, and that in this instance no offence had been committed.

**THE "TIMES" CASE FOR A LIBEL.**—At the Kingston Assizes, on Friday, an action was brought by Mr. Strange (formerly a publisher in Paternoster-row) against the *Times* newspaper, for two alleged libels in reference to the proceedings in the Court of Bankruptcy arising out of the royal etchings case. In summing up the case, the Lord Chief Justice observed, that the first alleged libel was of slight importance, but of the latter he thought the plaintiff had reason to complain, as it imputed want of character to him, and the error in making this assertion had not been apologized for; he therefore thought the plaintiff was entitled to a verdict, but was of opinion that the damages should be merely nominal. A verdict was, however, given of £80 damages.

**COMBINATION OF THE COOPERS.**—Several members of the committee of the Philanthropic Society of Coopers have been before Mr. Yardley, at the Thames Court, for the purpose of refuting the complaint of Charles Evans, a working cooper, of persecution. The committee denied that the men refuse to work with him, although "there was a tacit understanding that no workman shall speak to him." Evans's name had been scratched from their books. Mr. Yardley said that "sending a man to Coventry was almost as bad as starving him." In the first instance, they were quite wrong in imposing a fine of £10 on a man for working in a steam cooperage, where improvements were adopted in the construction of casks. "It would be as reasonable to fine a Thames waterman for assisting in the navigation of a steam-boat, and looked very much like an interference with the freedom of labour."

**LEAPING DOWN THE MONUMENT.**—At the Mansion-house, a man named Shepherd was charged with attempting to destroy his life by throwing himself from the top of the Monument down the well-staircase. He leaped from the height of sixty feet, and was nevertheless uninjured, his fall having been broken by the rails of the staircase. The defendant said the fall was accidental; but the whole of the circumstances were calculated to confirm the suspicion that the intention had been suicidal. In his pocket was found a paper, of which the following is a copy:—"O God Omnipotent, accept, I beseech thee, the breathings of a contrite heart, and mercifully bestow upon me out of thy superabundance that bliss which earth denies me. Regard, I supplicate thee, me, mine, and all that is near and dear to me, and mankind in general on earth, whilst I await thy righteous judgment.—W. SHEPHERD, March 31, 1851."

**FUTILITY OF POLITICAL TOILS.**—The perishable labours of man often form a chapter of lamentations, and those of modern public life seem more than any "to dumb forgetfulness a prey." In diplomacy, hardly any traces can long be expected to survive; and of the wearying vigils and wagon-load deliveries in Parliament, not a hand-barrow-full will reach posterity. An additional peculiarity clings to Parliamentary debates, in the fact, that they are not only likely to be short-lived, but to drag down in their oblivious wake much of the contemporary literary intellect of the age. In comment and criticism the public press was probably never more efficiently manned. Articles are constantly appearing in that eloquence, taste, logical sequence, and anecdotal pertinence, which might vie in all their excellencies, save detail and completeness with the best standards of composition. But all are fated to perish—and soon. Nobody thinks of preserving them anymore than milk or mackerel; or even of culling into a volume their fugitive sweets. How is this? Is it the richness of the confection that precludes longevity, and hastens decay or transformation? or, rather, is it the unavoidably fragmentary character of newspaper writing? or, in a still greater degree, the evanescent nature of the men and subjects to which it is appendent, spiced, and fitted, and with them dies, or fails in breadth and interest?—*Spectator*.

**AN HONEST AND LIBERAL DOCTOR.**—The late Mrs. Butler Cole bequeathed to Mr. Dixon, surgeon of Preston, her medical attendant, the sum of £3,000. That gentleman has, however, declined to receive the legacy, and has executed a deed of renunciation. The sum will accordingly be divided among the nephews and nieces of the deceased lady.

## COURT, OFFICIAL, AND PERSONAL

### NEWS:

THE QUEEN held a drawing-room, at St. James's Palace, on Thursday morning. It was the first public reception for ladies this season, and was brilliantly attended. Before the drawing-room, her Majesty, according to annual custom, received a deputation from Christ's Hospital in the Throne-room, inspected the charts and drawings, and was pleased to express her high approbation of the drawings of the boys, and especially of those representing the harbour and fortifications of Portsmouth. The Queen visited the Exhibition building, taking with her the Princess Helena, on Wednesday afternoon; Prince Albert having that day presided at a meeting of the Exhibition Commissioners.

**GENERAL SIR J. M'LSON.** Major-general Sir H. Bethune (formerly commander-in-chief of the Persian army), Major-general Sir Dudley St. Leger Hill, Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell, and Rear-Admiral Nicholas, are in the naval and military obituary this week.

**Lord Moncrieff.** one of the Scottish Lords of Session, died in Edinburgh last week, aged seventy-five. He was almost the last of the distinguished contemporaries of Jeffrey, Cranston, and Clerk, in the Parliament house; and for extensive and sound legal knowledge, for acuteness, combined with an ever healthy and reliable judgment, and for indefatigable industry, was perhaps superior to them all.

**THE REV. DR. RAIN.** Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow, died on Wednesday last, after an illness of about two months' duration. The fatal malady, a disease of the brain, was contracted by too close an application to study in the Advocates' Library, in preparing a revised edition of his great work—the "History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland."

**DISGRACEFUL OUTRAGE BY CAMBRIDGE UNDERGRADUATES.**—A few evenings since, a party of undergraduates from Cambridge rode into Huntingdon on horseback, and after partaking of dinner at one of the principal hotels, they proceeded to the Institution, where the New Zealand chief and his better half were engaged in one of their entertainments. As soon as the gentlemen had gained the hall they jumped upon the seats, and one of the party blew a shrill blast of a horn, to the great dismay of the chief and the auditory. They then scrambled upon the platform, and proceeded to "bonnet" and hustle the chief, and insult his wife, by tearing her head-dress off, and otherwise damaging her attire. The chief drew his tomahawk, and, by brandishing it about, kept his assailants at bay. The alarming character of the scene, however, created a perfect panic among the audience. The police hastened to the rescue of the chief and his lady, and effected the ejection of the rioters. Three of them were secured, and bail being procured they were liberated. The following day one of them had to pay a penalty of £10.

**TAXATION.**—A provincial contemporary asks if the question were put to seven millions of the inhabitants in the several parishes of this kingdom, whether they would prefer paying the following direct taxes, instead of the present indirect taxes, leaving a general free trade—what reply would be made?

	Produce.
1 Million pay 6d. weekly	£1,300,000
1 Million 1s.	2,600,000
1 Million 1s. 6d.	3,900,000
1 Million 2s.	5,200,000
1 Million 2s. 6d.	7,500,000
1 Million 3s.	10,400,000
1 Million 3s. 6d.	13,000,000

7 Millions in lieu of all taxes..... £44,200,000

Twenty-one millions of children and poor would be free, and the burden light for seven millions.

**THE SEARCH FOR SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.**—Letters have been received from Commander Pullen, the officer in charge of the boat party from the Mackenzie River, in search of Sir John Franklin. They are dated Fort Good Hope, Mackenzie River, July 17, 1850, and detail the proceedings of the party, who were upon the point of starting, and hoped to reach the sea about the 23rd of that month. The season had been extraordinarily fine, and the party were confident of an open sea.

**GENERAL POST OFFICE.**—The following notice was last week issued:—Many newspapers, addressed to Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America, having been recently detained at this office, in consequence of the postage due for their conveyance not having been paid, it has become necessary to call attention to the regulation under which a postage of one penny, either in money or by stamp, must be paid in advance upon each newspaper sent to those countries, and to point out that, unless such postage be paid, the newspapers cannot be forwarded.

**THE MARBLE ARCH.**—The re-erection of the marble arch at Cumberland-gate is completed, and the carriage drive opened to the public. The blocks of marble of which the arch is composed have all been fresh polished, and the structure has altogether a very chaste appearance. The upper part of the arch has been constructed as a police-station, and will contain a reserve of men.

**PEACE SOCIETY.**—The annual meeting of the Southampton Peace Society was held at the Town Hall on Friday evening, when the hall was crowded in every part by a respectable and attentive audience. Richard Laishley, Esq., took the chair, and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Thomas Spence, of London, with all that power of argument and oratory for which the reverend gentleman is well known.

## LITERATURE.

*Lectures on Social Science, and the Organization of Labour.* By JAMES HOLE. London: John Chapman.

HERE is another discussion of the great question of our times; and although we greatly differ from the author, we are not inclined to treat his work disrespectfully; believing that the views taken from his particular stand-point make their contribution to a judgment according to truth. Mr. Hole expounds and defends a pure Socialism; but not in the spirit, nor with the dogmas, of the Socialism which formerly in this country astounded the reason and disgusted the religious sense of men, by its extravagant and immoral doctrines. Those who would know what the spreading Socialism of to-day really is, and how little deserving of the depreciation with which the very name has been widely visited, would do well to read these lectures.

We agree with much said by the author concerning the Rights of Industry, the need of a readjustment of the whole Land-question, the benefits of Associated Labour, and other topics of occasional remark. But, while he excels in racy declamation, and a forcible depicting of facts as he sees them, he is chargeable with a general un-soundness of first principles, a habitual one-sidedness (which his earnest beliefs somewhat apologize for), and a fallacious reasoning by which the most important conclusions are vitiated. We may take as an instance the lecture on "The Province of Society." Here we find him confusing Government and Society,—assuming the creed of Communism (the very thing to be established), which rests on the absolute right, without limitations, of majorities, and embodies "the Pagan doctrine of Government omnipotence,"—denying that there is anything in society higher than the State, and conceding to the latter the regulation of everything possible to human experience or power. Moreover, there is an utter mistake of the very nature of Law. A moral law above Government is not acknowledged; but the public will of organized society, expressed in law and custom, of which the latter is called "unwritten law," is taken as the whole and only human rule. With manifest absurdity, the functions of Law are extended from "the requirements of Justice" to "the love of our kind—the sentiment of Fraternity." With some considerable inconsistency with other statements, it is taught that the end of all government is Human Culture—"the progressive development and unfolding of each man;" on which theory, the functions of Government are most evident and important in relation to the most prominent and characteristic elements of the nature to be thus developed and unfolded; and, consequently, if man has a religious nature, and this is distinctive of him, and its culture indispensable to his well-being—this religious nature specially claims the fostering care and unfolding power of Government. On this Human Culture theory of the province of Government, Politics are compounded of many elements, of which Religion must be the most important, unless from Human Culture, Religion is excluded. According to the theory, the State must be either Atheistic or Theocratic. It must treat religion as "a subordinate department of political affairs"—a true Paganism—or it must give to governors the care of religion and the religious well-being of their subjects, as the chief end of the State—a rejection, that is, as it seems to us, of the fundamental principles of Christianity, and a denial of the rights it confers, and the duties it enjoins.

The religious opinions of the author do not appear in his work; but we imagine that, if he were thoroughly penetrated by Christian ideas, he would have considerably modified his views on the nature and office of the State; and before his present conclusions can be truly called "Social Science," he must get a new logic, by which his results may be bound to his master-principle; or his principle must be modified for the sake of the results predetermined in his own mind.

We make these strictures without any prejudice or hostility to the writer or to his purposes. On the contrary, we honour his earnestness, appreciate his talent, and rejoice in the free discussion of the questions of which he treats. He is a man not to be offended by the freest expression of difference of opinion. His book deserves thanks. On the actual conditions of society he is well informed, and writes powerfully. His speculations, even when all deductions we should be disposed to make are allowed for, are often truthful and valuable. His remedial suggestions and lessons of immediate practical. We quote a few sentences:—

"While the pauper shivers in his rags, and beggar and thief ply their vocation—while the workman is crushed beneath the wheels of the English Juggernaut—his wife drawn from the domestic hearth to toil in the factory, and his child left to grow up in ignorance—it is surely not right in the social reformer to confine all his studies to the construction of patent systems of metaphysics and paper phalansteries."—P. 7.

"There is no such thing as a perfect system of association into which society has but to jump, and from which it shall at once reap all the advantages. The degree of association of which men are capable depends on the height of moral and intellectual cultivation to which they have attained."—P. 9.

"The only effectual mode of arriving at social organization, is by the dissemination of ideas."—P. 131.

"True fraternity arises from a noble and enlightened sentiment of the uses of property; and Communism, in our sense of that term, will only exist to the extent to which such a sentiment prevails."—P. 158.

From Socialism coming to us in such a spirit we need not retreat alarmed. We do not think it solves the problem it takes in hand,—that is *admittedly* only by the regeneration of individual men, but it has many testimonies to bear, to which society has too long been deaf. We daily stand firmer, by the force of these very testimonies, on the regeneration ideas of Christianity; from them the constructive power in society, sought now so variously, must and will spring forth. In a yet deeper sense than his own, we quote Theodore Parker's words,—"Is not the only remedy for all these evils in the Christian idea of wealth, and the Christian idea of work?"

### GLEANINGS.

The frequent visits of Sir James Clark to her Majesty indicate the approach of an event "in which the nation takes a deep interest."

Why are potatoes and wheat like the idols of old? Because they have eyes and they see not, ears have they and hear not.

The grass parks in the vicinity of Falkirk have let this year, on the whole, at an advance of about 15 per cent.—*Scotsman*.

The *Waterford News* says, "We are informed that Thomas Cooke, one of the police, when taking the Census in 1841, asked a lady her age, she told him she was 28 years old. He, to his great surprise, on inquiring her age in '51 was told by her she was *exactly* 27 years of age."

A 'CUTE CUSTOMER.—A person made a very decent morning's work on Monday, by filling up the census papers for the old women of North Shields, at a penny a piece.—*Shields Gazette*.

The *Athenaeum* announces that it is Mr. Thackeray's intention, during the coming season, to deliver a course of biographical reminiscences of some of the comic writers of our country during the eighteenth century. The course will commence about the middle of May.

The following impudent toast was recently given at a thanksgiving dinner at San Francisco by a genuine Patlander:—"Ireland—as she wants to be; England—as she ought to be; and the United States—as they are!"

Fanny Eissler takes her farewell of the stage at Vienna in the course of the present month. She intends retiring to her beautiful villa in the neighbourhood of Brunn, in Moravia.

A "WRIGHT" GOOD PUN.—Married, Jan. 22, at Salem, Indiana, by the Rev. Mr. Warren, Mr. J. P. Wright, of St. Paul, Minnesota, to Miss Addie Bliss, of Salem. This is the *Wright* kind of *Bliss*, for *Wright* has secured *Bliss*, while *Bliss* is made *Wright*. And if it be true that "ignorance is *Bliss*," then ignorance for once is *Wright*. The worthy couple doubtless found after marriage there was no *Bliss* in matrimony, though it was all *Wright*.

A MODEL EDITOR.—A correspondent of the *Boston Museum* thus speaks of Mr. Wright, the editor of the *Chronotype*:—"He has been known to write with a pen in each hand on two different subjects, rock the cradle with his feet, and whistle 'Hail, Columbia,' for the twin babies, while intently perusing one of Parker's sermons, all at the same time."

A letter from Stockholm states that a pleasure excursion from that city to Paris and London, to take place in June, has just been organized. Six hundred persons have already taken tickets.

In a letter from Mr. Barnum, printed by the *New York Express*, it is stated that Jenny Lind will commence her series of farewell concerts in Castle-garden, New York, on or about the 25th of this month, and at their conclusion "will give farewell concerts in Philadelphia, Baltimore, several of the lake cities, Pittsburgh, Canada, and Boston, sailing for England in the course of the summer."

The printers of Sacramento (California) have established the price of composition (the setting of types) at a dollar and fifty cents per thousand. At San Francisco the price is two dollars. The "gentlemen of the press" need not hanker after the "diggings," while they have such pretty "pickings."—*Gateshead Observer*.

The French priests know how to draw gay Parisians to church. We find it announced in the Paris papers, that "At the Madeleine, to-morrow, a charity sermon will be preached by the Rev. Father Ventura, for the foundation in the parish of a charitable institution, called 'Petites Soeurs des Pauvres,' for the reception of aged persons of both sexes. Madame Sontag, Mademoiselle Lemil, and M. Alexis Dupont, will sing on the occasion."

Mr. Parsons E. Day, "a delegate from the Industrial Congress of New York," gives notice that there is to be a World's Convention of Mechanics and Working Men in London, during the Fair of 1851, for the purpose of effecting an interchange of opinion in relation to the state of labour and the condition of the working classes in all parts of the world.

What are the most unsocial things in the world? Mile-stones—you never see two of them together.

GUIDANCE OF BALLOONS.—It is alleged that the inventor of the fish-shaped balloon, exhibited some time since at the Hippodrome, Paris, has succeeded in form-

ing a new balloon which has made way from one end of the Hippodrome to the other against the wind. It is provided with fins or wings, and tall rudder, and is worked by clock-work apparatus beneath. The inventor is a poor workman who has suffered frightful misery during the last ten years by his enthusiastic devotion to the subject of balloon guidance.—*Builder*.

**SCENE IN A DENTIST'S.**—A male representative from the Emerald Isle enters, hat in hand, with, "The top o' the morning to ye, sir, an' I got a bad tooth, an' the devil a bit o' comfort can I get short of a bottle o' brandy; an' I've got one of Father Matty's medals to tape me from all such evil spirits, sure. Now, sir, what'll you be axin' to pull me a tooth, sir?" "Half-a-dollar," says the doctor. "Well," says Pat, "what'll ye pull two for?" "O," replied the doctor, "I won't charge you anything for pulling the second one." Pat seated himself, turned up his mug, and the doctor took a peep at his grinders, and with a little assistance from Pat, soon found which were the ones he wanted out. Pat says, "This is the first one, and that is the second one. Please pull the second one out first." "Very well," replied the doctor, "any way to get them out?" And he pulled. Before he had time to fix the instrument for the other tooth (the first), Pat had got out of the chair, and was edging towards the door. "I guess, doctor, I won't have the first tooth pull out until it aches, and you told me you would pull the second one for nothing." Pat missed, and the doctor pocketed the joke instead of the fee.—*American Paper*.

THE LIBRARY AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM has been thrown open for the public to walk through, like the other parts of the building. The arrangement is only to the 1st of September.

### MONEY MARKET AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

#### CITY, TUESDAY EVENING.

Owing to a considerable increase in the number of money purchases since our last, the market for Stocks has experienced a slight improvement. The decline which has taken place in the Share Market may partly account for this, as many would be transferring their floating capital from a very fluctuating security to one not more variable than wind or weather. They have made their profits, and are inclined to risk nothing more until the influence of the Exhibition begins to be seen and felt.

The new Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been received with some favour in the City, as a decided improvement on the last, particularly as concerns the house-tax.

#### PROGRESS OF THE STOCKS:

	Wed.	Thurs.	Friday.	Sat.	Mond.	Tues.
3 per Ct. Cons.	96 <i>1</i>					
Cons. for Acct.	96 <i>1</i>	97				
3 per Ct. Red.	Shut	Shut	Shut	Shut	96	96
New 3 <i>1</i> per Ct.	Shut	Shut	Shut	Shut	96	96
Annuities...	Shut	Shut	Shut	Shut	97 <i>1</i>	97 <i>1</i>
India Stock ..	Shut	Shut	Shut	Shut	—	96 <i>1</i>
Bank Stock ..	Shut	Shut	Shut	Shut	—	96 <i>1</i>
Exchq. Bills..	54 pm.	55 pm.	57 pm.	55 pm.	58 pm.	57 pm.
India Bonds..	62 pm.	63 pm.	61 pm.	62 pm.	—	58 pm.
Long Annuit.	Shut	Shut	Shut	Shut	—	14

For a few of the Foreign Securities, the market has been better, and in these instances prices have advanced. Mexican, Dutch, and Peruvian have improved, whilst, as we anticipated last week, Spanish has drooped. Brazilian Bonds, Five per Cent., 88*1*; Ecuador Bonds, 3*1*; Mexican Bonds, 1846, 33*1*; Peruvian Bonds, Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 84*1* 5*1*; Portuguese Four per Cents., 36*1* 8*1*; Russian Four-and-a-Half per Cent., 98*1*; Spanish Five per Cents., Div. from Nov. 1840, 21*1*; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 58*1*; Ditto, Four per Cents., 89*1*.

We learn from a City contemporary that the legality of attachments upon the moneys of foreign Governments will be further tested in a few days, Baron de Haber, who failed in the Lord Mayor's Court a short time since, having impounded anew the funds to the credit of Portugal in the London Joint Stock Bank. On this occasion the money is treated as the property of the Government and people, not of Queen Donna Maria, and as the sum was forcibly seized from the Baron's banker at Lisbon, it is desirable at least that the case should be met "upon its merits, and not upon mere points of law."

The Share Market, as we hinted above, has been very depressed. A number of speculators, annoyed at the tax demanded for "continuations," have closed their accounts, and the market is consequently dull, but by no means, for this reason, in a more unhealthy state. Three weeks ago we commented at some length on the state and prospects of the Share Market, and expressed our conviction that the prices then ruling, would not and could not be sustained during the present month. To prove the correctness of our conjectures, we now quote the prices of a few of the leading lines at that time, and their quotation now:—

Shares.	Mar. 19.	Present Price.	Decrease.
Aberdeen .....	19 <i>1</i>	15	4
Caledonian .....	17	14 <i>1</i>	3
Chester and Holyhead .....	26 <i>1</i>	23	3 <i>1</i>
Great Northern .....	18 <i>1</i>	17 <i>1</i>	1 <i>1</i>
Great West rn .....	9 <i>1</i>	8 <i>1</i>	5
London and North Western .....	13 <i>1</i>	12 <i>1</i>	4 <i>1</i>
London and South Western .....	9 <i>1</i>	8 <i>1</i>	4 <i>1</i>
London and Blackwall .....	8 <i>1</i>	8	4 <i>1</i>
Lancashire and Yorkshire .....	64 <i>1</i>	59	5
Midland .....	67	60 <i>1</i>	6
North British .....	12	10	2
North Stafford .....	12	10 <i>1</i>	2 <i>1</i>
South Eastern .....	23 <i>1</i>	26 <i>1</i>	1 <i>1</i>
York and North Midland .....	26 <i>1</i>	26 <i>1</i>	2 <i>1</i>

The average decrease in these weeks on the capital of little more than £615, has thus been no less than £42, or more than 15 per cent. No wonder that "business is dull!" A brisk trade has been doing in the provinces during the past week, and Mark-lane has been moderately busy. The Produce Markets, however, are very dull.

#### PRICES OF STOCKS.

The highest prices are given.

BRITISH.	Price.	FOREIGN.	Price.
Consols.....	96 <i>1</i>	Brazil .....	89 <i>1</i>
Do. Account .....	97	Ecuador .....	4
3 per Cent. Reduced .....	96 <i>1</i>	Dutch 4 per cent ..	89 <i>1</i>
3 <i>1</i> New .....	99 <i>1</i>	French 3 percent..	58
Long Annuities .....	7 <i>1</i>	Granada .....	17 <i>1</i>
Bank Stock .....	21 <i>1</i>	Mexican 5 per cent ..	83 <i>1</i>
India Stock .....	26 <i>1</i>	Portuguese .....	36
Exchequer Bills—		Russian .....	111
June .....	57 pm.	Spanish 5 percent..	21
	65 pm.	Ditto 3 percent....	39 <i>1</i>
India Bonds.....		Ditto 2 per cent....	5 <i>1</i>

## THE GAZETTE:

Friday, April 4.

## BANK OF ENGLAND.

An account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 22, for the week ending on Saturday, the 29th day of March, 1851.

## ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

	£
Notes issued .....	27,556,410
Government Debt..	11,015,104
Other Securities ..	2,984,900
Gold Coin & Bullion	13,523,035
Silver Bullion .....	33,375
<b>£27,556,410</b>	<b>£27,556,410</b>

## BANKING DEPARTMENT.

	£
Proprietors' Capital	14,503,000
Bank .....	3,632,726
Public Deposits (including Exchequer, Savings' Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, and Dividend Accounts) .....	8,999,881
Other Deposits .....	8,866,234
Seven-day and other Bills .....	1,051,416
<b>£37,493,257</b>	<b>£37,493,257</b>

Dated the 3rd day of April, 1851.

M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnizing marriages, pursuant to an act of the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 85:—  
Wesleyan Chapel, Mansfield, Notts.

## BANKRUPTCY SUPPRESSED.

JOHNSON, RICHARD JAMES, Woolwich, plumber.

## BANKRUPTS.

ANDREWS, WILLIAM, Liverpool, commission merchant, April 14, May 12: solicitor, Mr. Williams, Liverpool.

BRADBERRY, GEORGE HENRY, and LOWE, GROSES RICS, Great Tower-street, City, four factors, April 16, May 16: solicitors, Messrs. Strutt and Cunningham, Buckingham-street, Strand.

BROWNE, JOHN BAXTER, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, wine merchant, April 17, May 8: solicitors, Mr. Kough, Shrewsbury; and Messrs. Mottram and Co., Birmingham.

GENTY, JOHN, Bocking, Essex, smith, April 16, May 13: solicitors, Messrs. Stevens and Satchell, Queen-street, Cheapside.

LLOYD, LEONARD WILD, Goldhawk-terrace, Shepherd's-bush, builder, April 16, May 16: solicitor, Mr. Abrahams, Lincoln-in-fields.

MOATE, ROBERT, West Stockwith, Nottinghamshire, innkeeper, April 19, May 10: solicitor, Mr. Marratt, Doncaster.

REYNOLDS, HOWELL, Aberaman, Glamorganshire, innkeeper, April 23, May 16: solicitors, Messrs. James, Merthyr; and Short and Strickland.

ROOPE, CHARLES, Liverpool, wine merchant, April 11, May 18: solicitors, Messrs. Fletcher and Hull, Liverpool.

TAYLOR, ROBERT ANDREW, Dunstan, Durham, Epsom salt manufacturer, April 11, May 9: solicitors, Messrs. Bolding and Pope, Fenchurch-street; and Mr. Forster, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ARTHURNOT, DAVID CARNEGY, Balornie, farmer, April 9, May 1.

DUNCAN, MARGARET, Banff, cowfeeder, April 7, 28.

KIPPEN, JOHN, and KIPPEN, JAMES, Port Glasgow, mercantile agents, April 7, 28.

MURRAY, ALEXANDER, Edinburgh, news agent, April 8, 29.

## DIVIDENDS.

James Kyrke, Glascoed, Denbighshire, lime burner, first div. of £s.; April 16, and any subsequent Wednesday, at Morgan's, Liverpool—Stole and Hodgreen, Christian-street, St. George's East, vinegar makers, first div. of £s. 7d.; April 5, and three subsequent Saturdays, at Groom's, Abchurch-lane—William Trego, Colman-street, builder, first div. of £s. 4d.; April 5, and three subsequent Saturdays, at Edwards's, Sambrook-court—Roger Upton, Dawlish, Devonshire, grocer, a div. of £s. 3d.; any Tuesday and Friday after April 10, at Mr. Hernaman's, Exeter—Charles Veals, Uffelme, Devonshire, baker, a div. of £s. 7d.; any Tuesday and Friday after April 10, at Mr. Hernaman's, Exeter.

Tuesday, April 8.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnizing marriages, pursuant to an act of the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 85:—  
Salem Chapel, Whalley, Lancashire.

Christchurch Chapel, or Presbyterian Chapel, Banbury, Oxfordshire.  
Hall Fold Chapel, Spotland, Lancashire.  
General Baptist Chapel, Chichester.

## BANKRUPTS.

SMELLIE, GEORGE, High-street, Shadwell, silversmith, April 17, May 15: solicitors, Messrs. Taylor and Collison, Great James-street, Bedford-row.

PRACH, ROBERT, Thorney, Isle of Ely, butcher, April 17, May 15: solicitor, Mr. Robinson, South-square, Gray's-inn.

COX, WILLIAM, Biomfield-terrace, Harrow-road, April 16, May 20: solicitor, Mr. Rye, Golden-square.

HOBSON, JAMES THOMAS, Wellington, corn-merchant, April 19, May 29: solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence, Plevs, and Boyer, Old Jewry-chambers.

ROBINSON, WILLIAM, Trinity-square, Tower-hill, cornfactor, April 19, May 29: solicitor, Mr. Bennett, Furnival's-inn.

JONES, GEORGE FREDERICK, East Isley, Berkshire, surgeon, April 15, May 20: solicitors, Messrs. Baylis and Drewe, Red-cross-street.

STOCKBRIDGE, GEORGE, Oxford-street, draper, April 15, May 20: solicitor, Mr. Lawrence, Bread-street, Cheapside.

HILL, JAMES, Holcombe Rogus, Devonshire, linendraper, April 16, May 12: solicitor, Mr. Forrester, Exeter.

MCILHAN, JOHN, Liverpool, commission merchant, April 17, May 23: solicitors, Messrs. Littledale and Bardswell, Liverpool.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

SMITH, M., Glasgow, ship-agent, April 17, May 15.  
CUTTERETSON, R., Dunfermline, manufacturer, April 12, May 8.

BAXTER, A., Lower Kincaig, near Invergordon, corndealear, April 11, May 2.

M'LENNAN, Lyndale, Island of Skye, April 14, May 5.

FRANCE, W., Glasgow, general grocer, April 11, May 2.

## DIVIDENDS.

Samuel Banfill, Edward-street, Langham-place, cabinet-maker, second div. of £s.; any Tuesday, at Mr. Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—J. B. and J. Montefiore, Nicholas-lane, merchants, second div. of £s. 2d.; Wednesday, April 9, or any subsequent Tuesday, at Mr. Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—T. Collingwood, Nunsham Courtney, Oxfordshire, innkeeper, first div. of £s. 2d.; Tuesday, April 15, or any subsequent Tuesday, at Mr. Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—J. G. Foster, Aldgate, tailor, final div. of £s.; any Tuesday, at Mr. Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—R. Dart and J. Brown, Bedford-street, Covent-garden, coach lace manufacturers, second div. of £s. on the joint estate, and a first div. of 7d. on the separate estate of R. Dart, and of 10d. on the separate estate of J. Brown; any Tuesday, at Mr. Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—M. and L. Rowlandson, Whitechapel-road, drapers, first div. of 10s.; Tuesday, April 15, or any subsequent Tuesday, at Mr. Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—T. B.

Cousens, Wisbeach, shipbuilder, first div. of 7s. 5d.; Saturday next, and three subsequent Saturdays, at Mr. Groom's, Abchurch-lane—A. Cranston, Wimborne-Minster, Dorsetshire, cabinetmaker, first div. of 3s. 3d.; Monday, April 14, and two subsequent Mondays, at Mr. Cannan's, Bircham-lane—C. Colls, C. Thompson, and R. P. Harris, jun., Lombard-street, bill-brokers, fifth div. of 3d.; Monday, April 14, and two subsequent Mondays, at Mr. Cannan's, Bircham-lane—T. Bentall, Coothall-chambers, stock-broker, first div. of 5d.; Monday, April 14, and two subsequent Mondays, at Mr. Cannan's, Bircham-lane—W. and W. Abbott, Monmouth-street, Southwark, patent hair felt manufacturers, second div. of 6d.; Monday, April 14, and two subsequent Mondays, at Mr. Cannan's, Bircham-lane—J. Crosthwaite, Liverpool, merchant, first div. of 2s.; any Wednesday, at Mr. Turner's, Liverpool—R. Bowerman, son, Enshan, Oxfordshire, carrier, third div. of 8d., on the separate estate; Thursday, April 10, and three following Thursdays, at Mr. Stansfeld's, Basinghall-street—W. Goode, jun., Monmouth, linendraper, first div. of 7s. 10d.; Thursday, April 10, and three subsequent Thursdays, at Mr. Stansfeld's, Basinghall-street.

POTATOES, SOUTHWAKE, WATERSEIDE, April 7.—There have been several fresh arrivals from Scotland since our last report; trade is exceedingly heavy, and it is only with the very best samples our highest quotations are realized. The following are the present quotations:—Yorkshire Regents, 70s. to 90s. per ton; Scotch, 60s. to 75s.; Scotch Cunes, 60s. to 70s.; Fife, —s. to —s.; Cambridge and Lincolnshire Regents, 50s. to 75s.; Rhenish Whites, —s. to —s.; French Whites, 50s. to 60s.

SEEDS, LONDON, Monday.—The arrivals of Cloverseed from abroad were again liberal during last week, and there was a plentiful show of samples this morning of middling and inferior qualities. Really fine qualities being comparatively scarce brought quite previous rates, whilst the ordinary sorts hung very heavily on hand. Canaryseed was about 1s. per qr. dearer. In other articles we have no variation to report.

## BRITISH SEEDS.

Linenseed (per qr.).... sowing 60s. to 65s.; crushing 48s. to 52s. Linseed Cakes (per 1,000 of lbs. each) .... £8 10s. to £9 0s. Cow Grass (nominal) ..... £2 to £2. Trefoli (per cwt.) ..... 16s. to 21s. Rapeseed, (per last) .... new £25 to £27.... old £2 to £. Ditto Cake (per ton) .... £4 0s. to £4 10s. Mustard (per bushel) white.... 6s. 0d. to 8s.; brown, 8s. to 12s. Coriander (per cwt.) ..... 16s. to 24s. Canary (per quarter) new.... 40s. to 41s. fine 42s. to 43s. Tares, Winter, per bush.... 3s. 6d. to 4s. 3d.; Spring, nominal Caraway (per cwt.) ..... new, 30s. to 33s.; fine, 33s. Turnip, white (per bush.) —s. to —s.; do, Swedish, —s. to —s. Cloverseed..... 48s. to 52s.

## FOREIGN SEEDS, &amp;c.

Clover, red (dry 5s. per cwt.) per cwt..... 32s. to 50s. Ditto, white (duty 5s. per cwt.) per cwt..... 36s. to 56s. Linseed (per qr.)..... Baltic 44s. to 47s.; Odessa, 46s. to 50s. Linseed Cake (per ton) ..... £6 0s. to £7 10s. Rape Cake (per ton) ..... £4 0s. to £4 10s. Hempseed, small (per qr.), 32s. to 33s.; Do, Dutch, 34s. to 36s. Tares (per qr.) ..... small 22s. to 25s.; large, 30s. to 33s. Eye Grass (per qr.) ..... —s. to —s. Coriander (per cwt.) ..... —s. to —s.

HOPS, BOUROUGH, Monday, April 7.—Fine samples are in moderate request, at fully last week's rates. Old and inferior descriptions meet with little inquiry.

Mid and East Kent ..... 90s. to 130s.

Weald of Kent ..... 80s. to 85s.

Sussex Pockets ..... 70s. to 84s.

COVENT GARDEN MARKET, Saturday, April 5.—New Hothouse Grapes, both white and black, may be obtained. Good Pine-apples are scarce, as are also dessert Apples. Oranges and Lemons are plentiful. Nuts remain nearly the same as last week. Forced Strawberries are more plentiful. Vegetables, of all kinds, are abundant and good. French Beans and Cucumbers are plentiful. Carrots and Turnips are good in quality. Potatoes are a trifle dearer. Lettuces and other salads are sufficient for the demand. The best Mushrooms fetch 1s. 3d. per potte. Cut Flowers consist of Heaths, Pelargoniums, Camellias, Mignonette, Double Primroses, Stephanotis floribunda, Cinerarias, Moss and Provincials, and the different kinds of spring bulbs.

TALLOW, MONDAY, April 7.—Since our last report, the demand for Tallow, both on the spot and for forward delivery, has fallen off, and prices are quite 3d. per cwt. lower. To-day, P.Y.C., on the spot, is quoted 40s. per cwt. Town Tallow is 38s. 6d. to 39s. per cwt cash; rough fat, 2s. 2d. per lbs. The delivery, last week, was confined to 1,295, whilst the imports were 1,269 casks. Our St. Petersburg letter states that prices ruled firm.

## PARTICULARS OF TALLOW.

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.
Casks.	Casks.	Casks.	Casks.	Casks.	Casks.
Stock this day ...	11,392	6,865	28,049	30,558	36,281
Price of Y. C. ...	49s. 3d.	52s. 0d.	39s. 6d.	36s. 9d.	40s. 0d.
Delivery last week	980	1,181	899	1,623	1,296
Do. from 1st June	73,691	90,765	87,766	83,180	81,083
Arrived last week	7	1,378	1,470	73	1,269
Do. from 1st June	89,559	88,181	108,232	88,267	94,846
Price of Town ...	53s. 0d.	54s. 0d.	41s. 6d.	38s. 0d.	41s. 6d.

WOOL, CITY, Monday, April 7.—The imports of Wool into London last week were 1,792 bales, of which 1,000 were from Islay, 280 from the Cape of Good Hope, 150 from Sydney, 114 from Bombay, 110 from Italy, 31 from Germany, and 103 from Mogadore.

LIVERPOOL, April 5.—Scotch.—There is still no improvement in demand for Laid Highland. White is still in better request; there is little, if anything, doing in either Crossed or Cheviot.

	s. d.	s. d.
Laid Highland Wool, per 24 lbs.	9 0	to
White Highland do.	12 0	12 3
L		

## HAY MARKETS, SATURDAY, April 5.

At per load of 36 trusses.

Meadow Hay .....	Smithfield.	Cumberland.	Whitechapel.
2d. 16s. to 7s.	3d. to 3s.	3d. to 3s.	4d. to 7s.
Clover Hay .....	6d.	6d.	6d.
Straw.....	2d.	2s.	2d.

HIDES, LEADENHALL.—Market hides, 36lb. to 64lb. 1d.  
2d. 2d. to 3d.; ditto, 64lb. to 72lb. 2d. to 3d.; ditto, 72lb. to  
80lb. 2d. to 3d.; ditto, 80lb. to 88lb. 3d. to 3d.; ditto, 88lb.  
to 96lb. 3d. to 4d.; ditto, 96lb. to 104lb. 3d. to 4d.; ditto,  
104lb. to 112lb. 4d. to 4d.; Calf-skins, each, 3s. 6d. to 6s. 6d.;  
Horse-hides, 6s. 6d. to 7s.

OILS.—Linseed, per cwt., 3s. 3d. to 3s. 6d.; Rapeseed, Eng-  
lish refined, 3s. 6d. to 4s.; foreign, 3s. 6d.; Gallipoli, per ton,  
£40; Spanish, £42; Sperm £55 to £65, bagged, £84; South  
Sea, £33 to £—; Seal, pale, £35 0s. to £— 0s.; and  
coloured, £34; Cod, £38 to £—; Cocos Nut, per ton, £38  
£40; Palm, £39. 6s.

## COAL MARKET, Monday, Mar. 31.

Stewart's, 15s. 9d.; Hetton's, 15s. 9d.; Braddell's, 15s. 3d.;  
Kelloe, 15s. 6d.; Richmond, 14s. 3d.; Eden, 15s. 6d.; Adelaide's,  
15s. 3d.; R. Hetton, 15s. 6d.; Wylam, 15s. 6d.; Durham,  
16s. 3d.; Tees, 15s. 6d.; Belmont, 16s. 6d. A firm Mar-  
ket, at the rates of Friday.

Fresh arrivals, 16s.; left from last day, 7s.—Total, 287.

## ADVERTISEMENTS.

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By Dr. LAURIE.

Fifth Edition, 8vo, bound in cloth, price 12s.

HOMEOPATHIC DOMESTIC MEDICINE,  
Free of all technicalities, and especially adapted to the  
use of Clergymen and private families.

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**A**N EPITOME OF THE SAME; intended to  
serve as a guide to those who are desirous of commending  
the Homeopathic treatment in family practice, giving very  
accurate directions for the dose of each remedy; and an article  
on the Characteristic Symptoms of all the remedies, to serve as  
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with the addition of a complete Glossary and Index (under  
English names); and other additions, enlargements, &c. &c.,  
by Dr. LAURIE.

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Method of Rearing Children from their Earliest Infancy;  
comprising the essential branches of moral and physical Education.  
To which are attached, Plain Directions for the Homœo-  
pathic Treatment of Affections incidental to Childhood.

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simple Rules for the management and treatment of all  
domestic animals, &c. &c. New Edition.

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the remittance of the quoted price.

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PARATIONS, are manufactured in every variety, at LEATH'S  
Homeopathic Operative Pharmacy, 9, Vere-street, and St.  
Paul's Churchyard.

The scrupulous care observed in the manufacture is guar-  
anteed by the following testimonial:

"The medicines which the author is in the habit of using are  
prepared at Leath's Homeopathic Operative Pharmacy, 9, Vere-  
street, Oxford-street, London, where a Practical and Phar-  
maceutical Chemist is in constant attendance. From having  
tested the efficacy of these remedies in general practice, the  
author feels that he can safely recommend them to the highest  
confidence of the public.—Dr. Laurie's Domestic Medicine, 5th  
Edition. Just published."

Single Tubes of any Medicines, 9d. each; post free, 1s.

The most perfect cases for the table or pocket, according to  
the following scale:—A case containing—

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12 " .....	12s. —	54 " .....	42s.
18 " .....	18s. —	84 " .....	56s.
24 " .....	24s. —	104 " .....	65s.
30 " .....	28s. —	200 " .....	105s.

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per lb.; DENTIFRICE, POMADE, JUJUBES, &c. &c., are  
universally approved of.

## FREE OF CARRIAGE TO ALL PARTS.

HALSE'S LETTERS ON MEDICAL GALVANISM.  
For the other letters on Medical Galvanism, Invalids are so-  
licitated to send to Mr. Halse for his pamphlet. (See below.)

LETTER I.

## PARALYSIS.—TO INVALIDS.—

GALVANISM has for a long time been resorted to as a  
powerful remedial agent; but, unfortunately, it has been applied  
by men totally ignorant of its principles. Can it, therefore, be  
wondered at that it has so frequently failed of producing any  
beneficial effects? My great improvement in the Galvanic Apparatus was a method to regulate its power to the greatest  
safety, so that an infant may be galvanized without experiencing  
the least unpleasantness; but no sooner do I make it public  
that I have made this discovery, than a host of imitators spring  
up like mushrooms, and state that they are also in possession of  
the secret; and, by all I hear, a pretty mess they make of their  
secret. Now, all the world knows how eminently successful I  
have been in cases of paralysis, particularly in recent cases.  
This success I attribute entirely to my superior method of regu-  
lating the power of the galvanic apparatus; for, without a per-  
fect regulating power, it is utterly impossible to produce suc-  
cessful results. Scarcely a week passes but I have two or three  
patients who have been either galvanized by some pretender, or  
have been using that ridiculous apparatus called the electro-  
magnetic or electro-galvanic apparatus, and, as may reasonably  
be expected, without the slightest benefit. Many pretenders in  
the country, having heard of my great success, and my high  
standing as a medical galvanist in London, have made it public

that they have received instructions from me, and are acting as  
my agents; and, not satisfied with this, are actually selling appa-  
ratus, representing them to be mine. I shall, of course,  
endeavour to put a stop to this. In the meantime, I now state  
that my galvanic apparatus can be procured from me only, as I  
employ no agents whatever. I will now endeavour to show how  
galvanism acts in cases of paralysis. Paralysis, or palsy, con-  
sists of three varieties—the hemiplegia, the paraplegia, and the  
local palsy. In the first, the patient is paralysed on one side  
only; in the second, the lower part of the body is affected on  
both sides; and in the third kind, particular limbs are affected.  
The cause of the attacks is the withdrawal of nervous influence  
from the nerves and muscles of the various parts. Now, Gal-  
vanism has been proved by the most eminent physiologists to  
be capable of supplying the nervous influence to those parts of  
the body which may be deficient of it, and hence the reason of  
its astonishing effect in cases of paralysis. In patients thus  
afflicted, I find that some parts of the spine are less sensitive  
than other parts; and, until those parts are aroused into action,  
the patient will not recover. Any medical man, who knows  
anything whatever of Galvanism, will be at once convinced how  
applicable Galvanism must be to such complaints; for not only  
does it arouse the dormant nerves and muscles into action, but it  
supplies them with that fluid of which they are deficient, viz.,  
the nervous fluid. I think it, however, but fair to state that, in  
cases of paralysis of long duration, I as frequently fail as succeed,  
whilst in recent cases I generally succeed. Still, Galvanism  
should be resorted to in every case of paralysis, no matter of  
how long duration it might have been, for it cannot possibly do  
any harm, and it may do good. I repeat, Galvanism is a power-  
ful remedy in cases of paralysis.

Health is the greatest worldly blessing we can enjoy, and yet  
many invalids, for the sake of saving a few guineas, will pur-  
chase apparatus which are entirely useless for medical pur-  
poses. Galvanism, they say, is Galvanism, no matter whether  
the price of the apparatus be much or little. They may as well  
say a fiddle is a fiddle, and that there is no difference in them.  
Surely no one of common sense who feels desirous of testing the  
remedial powers of Galvanism will, for the sake of a few  
guineas, throw his money away by purchasing an imperfect in-  
stead of a perfect apparatus. He may as well not try Galvanism  
at all as try it with an inefficient apparatus. These latter re-  
marks I address particularly to invalids; but how much stronger  
do they apply to medical men who are applying Galvanism?  
They find it fail of producing those wonderful effects which I  
have found it to produce! And why is it? Simply because  
they are using an imperfect apparatus. Scarcely a day passes  
but I receive an order for my galvanic apparatus from medical  
men who have been using the small machines and found them  
useless.

I conclude by stating, that if Medical men employ Galvanism  
at all in their practice, they are bound, both in duty to them-  
selves and to their patients to use the apparatus in its perfect form.  
The price is ten guineas. The case to accompany the order.  
WILLIAM HOOVER HALSE.

22, Brunswick-square, London.

Mr. Halse recommends paralytic patients residing in the  
country to purchase one of his Ten Guinea Portable Apparatus;  
as, with his instructions, they will be enabled to apply the  
Galvanism themselves, without the least pain, and fully as  
effectively as he could at his own residence.

Invalids are solicited to send to Mr. W. H. HALSE, of 22,  
Brunswick-square, London, for his pamphlet on MEDICAL  
GALVANISM, which will be forwarded free on receipt of two  
postage stamps. They will be astonished at its contents. In it  
will be found the particulars of cures in cases of asthma, rheu-  
matism, sciatica, tic doloreux, paralysis, spinal complaints,  
headache, deficiency of nervous energy, liver complaints, general  
debility, indigestion, stiff joints, all sorts of nervous disorders,  
&c. Mr. Halse's method of applying the galvanic fluid is quite  
free from all unpleasant sensations; in fact, it is rather plea-  
sureable than otherwise, and many ladies are excessively fond of it.  
It quickly causes the patients to do without medicine.  
Terms: One Guinea per week. The above pamphlet contains  
his Letters on Medical Galvanism.

**C**AUTION TO THE PUBLIC.—Mr. Halse is weekly in re-  
ceipt of letters from invalids informing him that they have been  
imposed upon by parties who have Galvanic Apparatuses for  
sale, representing them as Halse's Galvanic Apparatuses, and  
which they have afterwards discovered were not his at all. The  
only way to prevent this imposition is to order the Apparatus  
direct from Mr. Halse himself.

**T**HE present Proprietor of HALSE'S CELE-  
BRATED MEDICINES having been a vendor of them, and having heard from his customers of the all but miraculous  
effects of them, and knowing that they had not been brought  
before the public in the provinces (although their sale in London  
is very large) in a manner that they ought to be, was induced to  
offer a certain sum for the Recipes, Titles, &c., to the original  
proprietor. After much time, and paying a much larger sum  
than he intended, he has accomplished his object. He has no  
doubt, however, that the invalid public will ultimately well pay  
him for his outlay.

**H**ALSE'S SCORBUTIC DROPS: a sure Cure  
for Scurvy, Bad Legs, and Impurities of the Blood. "Their  
effects in purifying the blood are all but miraculous."

This medicine is generally admitted to be the most certain  
purifier of the blood of any as yet discovered, a remarkable  
change in the appearance—from a death-like paleness to the  
rosy hue of health—taking place within a very short time.  
Price 2s. 9d. each bottle, and in Pint bottles, containing nearly  
six 2s. 9d. bottles, for 14s., patent duty included. The following  
letter must convince every one of the safe, speedy, and truly  
wonderful effects of those drops.

This important letter is sent to Mr. Halse by Mr. Matthew,  
a highly respectable farmer, of the parish of Brent, Devon:—

"Brent, March 1st, 1842.

"Dear Sir,—I consider it a duty incumbent on me to state to  
the public the invaluable properties of your Scorbustic Drops. I  
may truly say, that I could never have believed such a powerful  
anti-scorbustic medicine to be in the possession of any one, had I  
not experienced its wonderful effects. Why is it that so many  
families are troubled with scorbustic eruptions, when such a  
purifier of the blood, as your medicine decidedly is, is within the  
reach of almost everyone? The answer is evident,—because you  
have not given it that publicity which it is your duty to do; and  
this is my principal reason for now writing to you, that you may  
make the particulars of the case public. Your modesty, Sir,  
ought not to overcome your duty to your fellow-creatures; therefore  
I trust, for the benefit of mankind, that you will give this  
letter as much publicity as possible. You remember, when I first  
applied to you, that I was almost out of hopes of receiving any  
benefit for my poor suffering child, for I believe that I informed  
you that I had been trying all but everything in order to give my  
child some ease, but day by day she continued to get worse, until  
at length all strength left her, and she was no longer able to  
walk; her body and head were covered all over with scorbustic  
eruptions; her appetite had vanished; the eruptions would itch  
in such a dreadful manner that she would roll herself in agonies  
on the ground; and she could get no sleep whatever by night.  
Immediately you saw her, you told me you were certain your  
Scorbustic Drops would cure her. I paid but little attention to  
your statement, as I had tried so many things in vain; but hearing  
of some wonderful cures made by you, I was determined to  
give your Drops a trial; and, fortunate for me, I did so. Before  
she had taken one bottle of them all the itching ceased, her ap-  
petite returned, and she enjoyed sound and refreshing sleep.  
By the time she had taken the second bottle, her skin was as  
fair as any person's, the use of her limbs was restored to her;  
and, I thank God, her health is now as good or better than it  
ever was.

"Why, Sir, do you not make the case of Thomas Rollins pub-  
lie? I repeat, it is your duty to do so. When he first com-  
menced taking your drops, he had not a sound inch of flesh in him;  
his body was literally covered with large running wounds,  
and a celebrated physician of Plymouth, who examined him,  
said, 'he never saw a man in such a condition in all his life.' I  
have lately seen him, and he informs me that he has but one  
wound left, which is less than the size of half a crown, and  
which is healing fast. He certainly looks like another man  
altogether. He told me that your Family Pills quickly restored  
his digestive powers, and gave him good refreshing rest at night.  
He would have been a dead man by this time if you had not  
taken him in hand. Sincerely wishing you every success, allow  
me to remain, dear Sir, yours respectfully,

"WILLIAM MATTHEWS."

"Halt, near Wimborne, May 21, 1845.

"To the Proprietor of Halse's Scorbustic Drops."

"Sir,—It is due to you to state the establishing ~~earlier~~ more  
valuable medicine has caused to my wife. About five years since  
an eruption appeared in various parts of the body; she applied  
to various medical gentlemen without deriving the least benefit;  
the disorder continued to increase, and latently to a very fright-  
ful extent, her body being covered with painful, itching, unsightly  
cysts. About six months since I providentially saw the  
advertisement of Halse's Scorbustic Drops, in the Salisbury  
Journal. I determined that my wife should give your medicine  
a trial, and accordingly purchased a bottle of your Drops of Mr.  
Wheaton, your agent at Ringwood, and I have not words to ex-  
press my opinion of the medicine. But in the course of a fortnight  
she was perfectly cured, having taken two bottles of the Drops  
and one box of Pills. Six months have now elapsed, and she  
has had no return of the complaint.

"A neighbour of mine, Mr. John Shears, yeoman, of Holt,  
has a child eighteen months of age, which, since it had been  
four months old, had its head and face completely covered with  
scabs, causing itself and mother many sleepless nights. Now,  
as I was a witness of the truly wonderful effects of your incom-  
parable medicine in my wife's case, I recommended it to my  
neighbour, and, after some persuasion, he purchased a bottle.  
He gave it to his child. The effect was miraculous, for in less  
than three weeks the child was perfectly cured. Truly, Halse's  
Scorbustic Drops is a wonderful medicine, and I am convinced  
that no one would be

ELEGANCE, DURABILITY, HEALTH, AND ECONOMY.

**HUBBUCK'S PATENT WHITE ZINC PAINT,**  
THE WHITEST OF ALL PAINTS.

THIS is the favourite pigment of the Artist, named PERMANENT WHITE, hitherto restricted to costly decorations.

Unrivalled in beauty, it is permanent, even when exposed to vapour from Cesspools or noxious Gases.

For Fresco, Enamel, imitations of ALABASTER, delicate TRACERY, and other works of the DECORATIVE ARTIST, it possesses advantages which no other Paint can supply.

It may be tinted to any shade, and imparts brightness and clearness to other colours.

One peculiar characteristic is the astonishing brilliancy its reflective power produces in an illuminated building.

Healthful to the Painter, and to the occupants of newly-painted rooms.

Cheaper than the poisonous Paints, from Two Owt. covering as much work as Three Owt. of White Lead.

"Each Cask is stamped—'HUBBUCK, LONDON, PATENT.'

A CIRCULAR, with full particulars, may be had of the Manufacturers,

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Arrangements can be made with this Office to prevent the loss of a Policy where the Assured is unable, from temporary embarrassment, to keep up the payments.

H. B. SHERIDAN, Manager.

TO SCHOOLMASTERS, PARENTS, &amp;c. &amp;c.

**THE GUTTA PERCHA COMPANY**

HAVE BEEN FAVoured WITH THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM

**LIEUTENANT ROUSE,**  
SUPERINTENDENT OF THE GREENWICH HOSPITAL SCHOOLS.GREENWICH HOSPITAL SCHOOLS, July 16th, 1850.  
I have for the last three years worn Gutta Percha Soles, and from the comfort experienced in the wear generally, particularly in regard to dry feet, and also in durability and consequent economy, I was induced to recommend the Commissioners Greenwich Hospital, to sanction its use in this Establishment, instead of Leather Soles. It has now been Six Months in general use here, so that I am, from experience in the wear and tear of Shoes for EIGHT HUNDRED BOYS, able to speak with confidence as to its utility, which, in my belief, is very great; and I am looking forward to its being the means, during the next Winter, of preventing chilblains, from which we have greatly suffered.

I have much pleasure in giving this testimony, and you have my permission to make it as public as you please, in the belief that it cannot but be doing good.

I remain, your faithful Servant,

JOHN WOOD ROUSE, LIEUT. SUPERINTENDENT.

FROM

**LIEUT. COLONEL F. R. BLAKE,**  
THIRTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, July 16th, 1850.

In reply to your letter requesting my opinion with regard to Gutta Percha Soles, I have great pleasure in informing you, that I have made particular enquiries on the subject from those Soldiers of the 33rd Regiment, who have worn them during the past year, and they decidedly give the preference to the Gutta Percha Soles, both for comfort and durability. I have also constantly worn them myself, and can therefore speak from my own knowledge of the superior advantages of Gutta Percha Soles.

I am, your obedient servant,

F. R. BLAKE, LIEUT. COL., 33RD REGIMENT.

**IMPORTANT TO GARDENERS, &c.**

The Gutta Percha Company have been favoured with the following Letter

G. GLENNY, ESQ.,  
THE CELEBRATED FLORIST.

Country Gentleman Office, 420, Strand, London, August 21, 1850.

GENTLEMEN.—I have worn Gutta Percha Soles and Hoods three two years, and being so much in a garden as I necessarily am in all weathers, and with the ground in all states, I would on no account be without them. As a matter of economy I would recommend Gardeners to use them, for they may repair the worn part at all times by warming the material at the fire, and pressing it from the thick parts to the worn parts, as easily as if it were so much dough. I think it the duty of all persons who must occasionally wet their feet, to adopt a material that completely defies damp. Many a Gardener would escape colds and rheumatism by the use of Gutta Percha Soles.

Your obedient servant, G. GLENNY.

The Gutta Percha Company, Patentees, 18, Wharf Road, City Road, London.

**PURE COFFEE FOR INVALIDS.**

"In consequence of the many spurious admixtures packed in canisters under the name of Patent Coffee, the medical profession of London think it just to caution the public against them, and recommend all persons whose object it is to obtain genuine coffee, to buy Snowden and Co.'s Patent Purified Coffee Nibs for Invalids, and grind it themselves. They may then depend on obtaining, not only a genuine article, but purified from all irritating fibre, which renders coffee objectionable to many who otherwise would enjoy that luxuriant beverage."—See Testimonial of Dr. Ure, Professor of Chemistry, Bloomsbury-square, London.

**PATENT PURIFIED COFFEE NIBS,**  
for Invalids.

Her Majesty has granted to ROBERT SNOWDEN and CO., of the CITY-ROAD and EAST-ROAD, LONDON, her Royal Letters Patent for Roasting Coffee in PORCELAIN CYLINDERS, and PURIFYING the BEANS from all the internal PISSES which encircles the heart of the bean.

These cylinders having a glazed surface, are as clean and pure as a dinner-plate; the Coffee cannot be burnt, or imbibe any metallic flavor during the process of roasting, as is always the case, in a more or less degree, with coffee roasted in the common iron cylinders. After the Coffee is roasted, it passes through our PATENT PURIFYING MACHINE, which entirely removes all woody and fibrous particles from the heart of the berry—it is the presence of this fibre in all other coffee which renders it so irritating to persons of weak digestion, an evil which is entirely alleviated by the use of Snowden's Purified Invalid Coffee. The fibre may be seen by any lady who will take the trouble to break the coffee berry, and examine it. From the Purifying Machine, it passes into our Steam Grinding Mills, and, while warm, and containing all the natural AROMA of the BEAN, is packed under our own immediate inspection, in Canisters of 4lb., 1lb., and 2lb. each, labelled "Snowden and Co." for the use of those families who do not grind their own. Price 2s. per lb.

Some Families prefer to use their own mills, and for the convenience of such, we pack also in Canisters of 4lb., 1lb., and 2lb. each, at 2s. per lb., the Purified Coffee nibs.

Invalids and Persons suffering from Dyspepsia and Nervousness may, therefore, depend upon having an article much purer than they can buy at any other house, as Snowden's patent (a copy of which may be seen at their Warehouse), excludes all others from the right of PURIFYING COFFEE on their principle.

Since our Patent was granted, Canister Packed Coffee has become an important trade, and numerous Canister Coffee Packers have started under the name of Patent; but with one exception, and that only refers to Roasting, there is no other Patent Canister Coffee in existence. We make this statement, and defy contradiction. Invalids and persons of weak digestion are, therefore, solicited to ask for Snowden's Purified Coffee for Invalids.

To be had of the Patentees, City-road and East-road, London, and of their appointed Agents, in most of the principal towns; where such Agents are not, it may easily be had by inquiry, or letter containing a remittance, to the Patentees,  
**SNOWDEN AND COMPANY, CITY-ROAD AND EAST-ROAD, LONDON.**

**FENDERS, STOVES, and FIRE-IRONS.**

Buyers of the above are requested, before finally deciding, to visit WILLIAM S. BURTON'S SHOW-ROOMS, 39, OXFORD-STREET (corner of Newman-street), No. 1 and No. 2, NEWMAN-STREET. They are the largest in the world, and contain such an assortment of Fenders, Stoves, Ranges, Fire-irons, and General Ironmongery, as cannot be approached elsewhere, either for variety, novelty, beauty of design, or exquisiteness of workmanship, while the prices are on that low scale for which his Establishment has been so celebrated for more than a quarter of a century. Bright Stoves, with bronzed ornaments and two sets of bars, £1 1s. to £6 10s.; ditto with ormolu ornaments and two sets of bars, £5 10s. to £12 12s. Bronzed Fenders complete, with Standards, from 7s. to £3; Steel Fenders, from 2s 10s. to £6; ditto, with rich ormolu ornaments, from £3 10s. to £7 7s.; Fire-irons, from 1s. 9d. to £4 4s. Sylvester and all other Patent Stoves, with Radiating Hearth Plates.

**THE PERFECT SUBSTITUTE for SILVER.**

The REAL NICKEL SILVER, introduced 14 years ago by WILLIAM S. BURTON, when plated by the patent process of Messrs. Elkington and Co., is beyond all comparison the very best article next to sterling silver that can be employed as such, either usefully or ornamentally, as by no possible test can it be distinguished from real silver.

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Tea Spoons, per dozen..	1s.	3s.	3s.
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Dessert Spoons ..	30s.	5s.	5s.
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All kinds of re-plating done by the patent process.			

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Table Spoons and Forks, full size, per dozen ..	12s.	28s.	30s.
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The most varied assortment of TABLE CUTLERY in the world, all warranted, is on Sale at WILLIAM S. BURTON'S, at prices that are remunerative only because of the largeness of the sales. 24-piece Ivory-handled Table Knives, with high shoulders, 10s. per dozen; Desserts, to match, 8s.; if to balance, 1s. per dozen extra; larger sizes, in exact proportion, 25s. per dozen; if extra fine, with silver ferrules, from 30s.; white bone Table Knives, from 6s. per dozen; Desserts, 6s.; black horn Table Knives, 7s. 6d. per dozen; Desserts, 6s.; black wood handled Knives and Forks, 6s. per dozen; Carvers, from 2s. per pair; Table Steels, from 1s. each. The largest stock of plated Dessert Knives and Forks, in cases and otherwise, and of the new plated Fish Carvers, in existence. Also a large assortment of Razors, Pen-knives, Scissors, &c., of the best quality.

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